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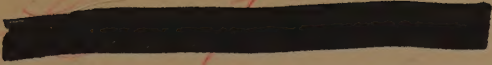
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**THE MONUMENTS
AND THE
OLD TESTAMENT**



Decipherers and Excavators

(For Description, see p. xxxiii.)

THE MONUMENTS AND THE OLD TESTAMENT

LIGHT FROM THE NEAR EAST
ON THE SCRIPTURES

By

IRA MAURICE PRICE, Ph. D.

Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures
in The University of Chicago

New Rewritten Edition with Maps and New Illustrations



Fig. 88A

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TO
The Memory of
Father and Mother

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PREFACE

WE have discovered a new world in the ancient Near East. Tablets, temples, and tombs have lifted the curtain of that ancient stage, and shown us tremendous world-powers playing their rôle in the drama of mankind. The records of their acts now fill scores of volumes extending through three-quarters of a century of time. Romantic and fascinating as these volumes may be, they are not within the reach of all of us, nor would many of them be read if they were. Scattered here and there throughout these works, we often find material of especial interest to readers and students of the Old Testament. This information, however, is so distributed and intermingled with masses of other matter, that its separation and organization require long and patient toil.

This volume is an attempt to furnish an answer to this oft-heard question, "Where can I find, in concise form, the latest reliable information furnished by the monuments, illustrating the Old Testament?" The first edition of this work was issued twenty-five years ago. Two years later it was revised, and in 1907 an additional chapter was added on the Hammurabi Code. Twenty-five years have seen so many new discoveries in the Near East,

Preface

that a wholly new edition was required. Hence the book has been entirely rewritten and reset, and several new features added to enhance its usefulness. The abundance of material available in several periods of history, and the numerous themes calling for treatment, were continuous sources of embarrassment to the author. But the limits of space compelled a selection and a condensation of the most important facts. Some chapters present with some fulness the events of the Old Testament records. This was due to the necessity of painting the background on which the ancient characters could appear and play their significant rôle.

This work is intended chiefly for those readers and students of the Bible and ancient history who are not able to translate the inscriptions on the monuments, or to make practical use of the larger technical works. Some outline knowledge at least of the facts of Old Testament history is naturally presupposed. The book is so arranged that it yields readily to a plan of reading and study, covering a period of six or seven months. These chapters in their condensed statements are merely introductions to a wider study of the engrossing themes. Readers who wish to investigate the subjects further will find on pages 449-456 a select list of references to the latest and best semi-popular and popular books on the themes discussed.

The convenience of readers was also consulted in the arrangement of the book. It will be seen that the "Con-

Preface

tents" give the theme of each of the three hundred sections, distributed under the twenty-seven chapters. The "Illustrations, Sketches, Names in Ancient Scripts" are arranged in alphabetical order. The "Ancient Dates Employed," "Scripture Passages," "Texts Quoted and Noted," and the "General Index and Register," put the volume at the ready command of the reader.

The author has laid under tribute to this work the best available sources. Acknowledgment is hereby made to all the authors who have written on the subjects, since only a few of the most prominent could be mentioned by name. Familiarity with the original texts of the cuneiform inscriptions was of especial value in that part of the work treating of the light from those sources.

An attempt has been made to present a selection only of the available illustrations that represent the mounds, the discovery, decipherment, and contents of the inscriptions. The gratitude of the author is hereby expressed to the several publishers who either furnished electrotypes, or granted permission to copy illustrations from their works. Due acknowledgment for these courtesies is found in the list of "Illustrations," under the several subjects. The author's thanks are also due the University of Chicago Press for the use of one electrottype plate. Where no acknowledgment is made the original is in the hands of the author.

Preface

Notwithstanding the scrupulous care taken in the production of the book, the author has lived long enough to know that some errors escape the keenest scrutiny and the sharpest eye.

The author's gratitude is due to those instructors who have used the work as a text-book in college and seminary, for their kind suggestions for this new edition; also to that large number of readers and students whose kind and appreciative words have been a constant inspiration in the task of rewriting the entire work.

The author's especial thanks are hereby expressed to Dr. Daniel G. Stevens, Book Editor of The American Baptist Publication Society, for his scrupulous care, un-failing kindness, and valuable suggestions due to his broad knowledge of the field of Oriental research; and also to the Publishers who have spared no pains to give the work a form that would be a "delight to the eyes" and "good for food!"

The author cherishes the hope that this new edition may not only follow in the path of its predecessors, but may far outstrip them in its usefulness as a handbook for the reading and study of the Old Testament, and thus contribute to a better understanding of the entire Bible.

IRA M. PRICE.

DECEMBER, 1924.

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DESCRIPTION OF PICTURES ON THE COVER DESIGN, TITLE-PAGE, AND FRONTISPIECE

COVER DESIGN

FIG. 70A. IKHNATON AND HIS QUEEN UNDER THE SUN'S RAYS

Amenhotep IV, whose grandmother Tiy was an Asiatic princess, abandoned the polytheism of the Egyptians at Thebes, and adopted the religion of Asia, and then was practically forced to leave the capital. He removed down the Nile and established his residence at Tell el-Amarna (§34, 107). His character, peace-loving disposition, and zealous devotion to the new religion of the sun-god of Asia, bring him into comparison with David, Solomon, Hezekiah, and Josiah of the Hebrews. Here he and his queen present offerings to the beneficent and life-giving rays of the sun-god of Asia.

FIG. 88A. SYMBOL ON TITLE-PAGE

This is the symbol of "Life" which figures so prominently on the monuments of Egypt. On the cover design you find this same symbol touching the lower rim of the sun, and held by a hand before the face of the king and before his queen.

FRONTISPIECE

No. 1 (= Fig. 32)

JEAN FRANÇOIS CHAMPOLLION

Champollion was born in Figeac, Lot, France, December 23, 1790. Very early in life he took an especial interest in Hebrew, Arabic, and particularly in

NOTE ON FIG. 16A, head-piece above: An Assyrian band welcoming the king and his army after a victorious campaign. With equal joy should we honor the so marvelously successful decipherers and excavators of the past century.

Description of Pictures

Coptic. He paid especial attention to Egyptian antiquities and through an intensive study of the Rosetta Stone (§15) succeeded in finding the key into the mysteries of Egypt. In 1823 he presented his notable results and in 1824 they were published to the world. He died in Paris, March 4, 1832, less than forty years of age.

No. 2 (= Fig. 122)

HENRY CRESWICKE RAWLINSON

Rawlinson was born in Chadlington, Oxfordshire, England, April 11, 1810. He was primarily a member of the British diplomatic service. He was a political agent in Kandahar, 1840; a resident in Baghdad a long time. While in these offices his side-issue was archeology (§§39-41). This, however, became his chief interest for all the later years of his life. He died in London, March 5, 1895, and has since been designated as the British father of Assyriology.

No. 3 (= Fig. 88)

AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD

Layard was born in Paris, March 8, 1817. He was of Huguenot ancestry. His early interest was in law which he soon dropped and took up a life of travel in the East. By the time he was 23 years of age he was on the banks of the Tigris (§31). His name and fame began in that region. Success as an archeologist showered upon him distinction and honor in several fields. He died in London, July 5, 1894.

No. 4 (= Fig. 121)

HORMUZD RASSAM

Rassam was born at Mosul in 1826 of Nestorian Christian parents. Early he fell in with Layard and his excavations (§§31, 32) and learned the art. In 1852 under Rawlinson's direction he excavated Kuyunjik in Nineveh. He uncovered Ashurbanipal's record-room, his lion-hunt chamber, part of his library, including the deluge tablet (§88). In 1877 he found at Balawat, about 15 miles east of Mosul, the bronze plates of the doors of Shalmaneser III. In Kuyunjik he found the ten-sided prism of Ashurbanipal. In 1878 he carried on excavations at Kuyunjik, Nimrud, Kaleb-Shergat, and Babylon, finding at the last site Cyrus' cylinder of the fall of Babylon (Fig. 25). In 1879-80 Rassam was a kind of superintendent of excavations at half a score of places. Abu-Habba he identified as Sippar. In 1882 he took out of its ruins over 60,000 clay tablets. After living in retirement for nearly 30 years at Brighton, England, he died September 20, 1910, highly honored among excavators of Babylonian sites.

No. 5 (= Fig. 110)

JULES OPPERT

Oppert was born of Jewish parents in Hamburg, July 9, 1825. After a student's career in Germany he settled in France. His attainments as an Orientalist secured his appointment with Fresnel and Thomas by France to excavate in

Description of Pictures

Babylonia. At Birs Nimrud near Babylon a considerable quantity of antiquities, including inscriptions, were found, but unfortunately were lost in the river by the overturning of the craft on which they were carried, May 23, 1855. Oppert, however, had wisely taken squeezes of the best finds, and they were thus saved to science. Oppert was professor of Assyrian philology and archeology in College de France until his death, in Paris, August 31, 1905.

No. 6 (= Fig. 98)

JACQUES DE MORGAN

De Morgan was sent by the French government to the mound of Susa in 1878. He soon proved his skill as an archeologist by unearthing and bringing to Paris in 1884 about forty tons of antiquities, many of them of superb value for the history of Elam and Babylonia. In 1901-02 he brought to light the Code of Hammurabi (§132f.), as the most valuable of a long line of significant discoveries. He was born at Huisseau-sur Cosson, France, 1857, and died at Marseilles, June, 1924.

No. 7 (= Fig. 135)

ERNEST DE SARZEC

De Sarzec was a French consular officer at Basra in Babylonia, wide-awake to its archeological treasures. Tello, a mound four miles long, 60 miles north of Mugheir, and five miles from Shatt-el-Hai, by a large irrigating canal, attracted his attention. At this ruin de Sarzec excavated intermittently from 1877 to 1900. His discoveries opened a new period in human history, giving us our first knowledge of early kings whose careers almost equaled that of Hammurabi. Sumerian civilization is a new era since the mounds of Tello (Lagash) have spoken. Our excavator was born in 1836 and died in June, 1901, in Poitiers, France.

No 8. (= Fig. 100)

EDOUARD HENRI NAVILLE

Naville was born June 14, 1844, in Geneva, Switzerland. He has given his life largely to the study and excavations of Egyptian antiquities. Bubastis (Pi-Beseth) and Pithom and other places uncovered by him have made his name familiar to all students of the Near East as an energetic and enthusiastic student of Egypt's past.

No. 9 (= Fig. 112)

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE

Lachish in Palestine, Mt. Sinai in the peninsula, and Abydos on the Nile have closely linked Petrie's name with excavators. His devotion to Egyptian history and lore has given him a distinct place among workers in that line of research. His many volumes on Egyptian life and history have put his name in the galaxy of able and distinguished Egyptologists.

Description of Pictures

No. 10 (= Fig. 85A)

ROBERT KOLDEWEY

Koldewey was born September 10, 1855, at Blankenburg, Germany, and was sent to Babylonia by the new German Orient Society. He began to dig at Babylon in the spring of 1899 at the mound El-Kasr, over Nebuchadrezzar's palace. Success attended him from the beginning. "The Ishtar Gate" (Fig. 71), "The Lion of Babylon" (Fig. 89), "The Procession Road," and the like are a few of his finds. He also initiated work at old Ashur September 18, 1903. But all these operations ceased at or before the outbreak of the World War. He is now custodian in the government museum in Berlin.

No. 11 (= Fig. 61)

JOHN HENRY HAYNES

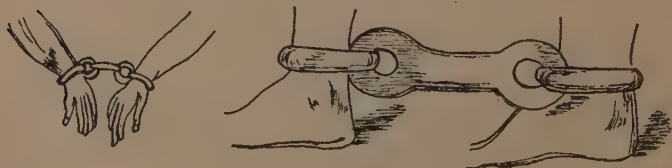
Haynes was born June 27, 1849. His archeological career included Assos, 1881-82, Nippur, 1889-90, 1893-96, 1899-1900. He was in full charge 1893-96, when he took out of Nippur about 21,000 clay tablets. He worked almost incessantly for three years, most of the time absolutely without any European or American companion. Hilprecht says of him, "The crowning success was reserved for the unselfish devotion and untiring efforts of Haynes, the ideal Babylonian explorer." He died at North Adams, Mass., June 29, 1910.

No. 12 (= Fig. 168)

HUGO WINCKLER

In addition to being an Assyriologist in the University of Berlin, Winckler in 1906 discovered at Boghaz-Keui, near the ancient Hittite capital Khatti, in Asia Minor, a marvelous collection of Hittite inscriptions written in the cuneiform script of Babylonia (§56A). These documents will occupy students for many years to come. Winckler was born July 4, 1863, in Grafenhainichen, Germany, and died April 19, 1913.

NOTE ON FIG. 15A, tail-piece below: Fetters and shackles in Assyria. When the fleeing Zedekiah had been caught by the soldiers of Nebuchadrezzar, his eyes were put out, and he was bound with fetters (2 Kings 25 : 7), and carried to Babylon. Jehoiakim was likewise bound with fetters to be carried to the same foreign metropolis (2 Chron. 36 : 7). These fetters are often seen on captives led off into a strange land, by the great powers of those early days.





Light Out of the Near East on the Scriptures

CHAPTER I

THE PHYSICAL AND RACIAL BACKGROUND OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

**1. Extent,
Seas.** On the physiographical background of the Old Testament we find mountains, hills, plains, and deserts, cut through, or interspersed with rivers, gulfs, bays, and seas. The stretch of this area from Persia on the east to Spain on the west is more than 3,000 miles; and from the mountains of Armenia on the north to the southern line of Arabia about 1,800 miles.

Three great bodies of water are enclosed within this background, the Mediterranean Sea on the west, the Red Sea approximately to the south, and the Persian Gulf on the southeast. The Mediterranean Sea alone is 2,200 miles in length and 1,200 in width in its broadest part. The Red Sea, an extension of the Indian Ocean, stretches towards the northwest between Arabia on the east and Egypt and Nubia on the west, 1,250 miles with an average width of 180 miles; the Gulf of Suez separating lower Egypt and the wilderness of Sinai, is 200 miles long and 20 miles wide. The Persian Gulf is another branch of the Indian Ocean, in Old Testament times about 600 miles

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long and 200 miles wide—the basin that receives the waters brought down in such large volume by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers.

The historical and moral center of this map is found on the east coast-lands of the Mediterranean Sea and in the Delta of Egypt.

2. Rivers. Next to the large bodies of water that diversify the surface of the Old Testament world, should be mentioned the three great navigable streams, the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Tigris rivers. The Nile was the one water-route within the boundaries of Egypt, broadening out into several arms in the Delta. The Euphrates and Tigris were the two giant rivers of Babylonia whose waters supplied the navigable canals, and irrigated the fertile soil of that wondrous valley. These, with the waters of the seas and gulfs named above, were the highways of trade and travel between all lands and peoples on their coasts or banks. The water-routes cooperated with overland trade-routes, especially on the east shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and thereby contributed to the commercial success of the marine trade of that time. Primitive as were the sea-going and river craft of Old Testament times, the most energetic traders and far-traveling peoples, like the Phœnicians, seem to have been the least warlike and most peaceful of all the nations.

3. Mountains. The ever-present and outstanding features of the land area were the mountains. Armenia in the extreme north has four ranges running parallel nearly east and west, with many deviations, among which are several notable valleys

and plateaus. In two of these plains rise the noble Euphrates and Tigris rivers whose long winding courses carry them into the Persian Gulf. In Asia Minor, the Taurus range lifts its head nearly 12,000 feet at one point and is the backbone of that area. A southern spur of that same range walls in the Mediterranean Sea on the east by the heights of Lebanon, and sends its extensions on down through Palestine across the desert, terminating in the region of the traditional Mount Sinai. The broad Babylonian-Assyrian valley has on the east the Alpine ranges of western Persia, broken here and there by rushing streams and other natural passes. Arabia is protected on the southwest against further encroachments of the Red Sea, on the southeast against the Indian Ocean, and on the northeast against the Persian Gulf, by ranges of mountains that protect the peninsula, beautify the landscape, and furnish a refuge for the native population of that land. The valley of the Nile is protected in its upper reaches by rocky precipitous borders; and here and there as one follows its course down to the Delta, by the rising ground facing the desert, sometimes reaching a thousand feet in height.

4. Chief Lands.

The chief countries on our map are few and significant. On the southern section we find Egypt, in form very much drawn out, nestled about the Nile River, and crowded on each side by the Sahara Desert. This valley cradled a civilization from at least the fifth millennium B. C. Its successors followed down through the centuries, paralleling the Old Testament for a thousand years, until swallowed up by the conquests of Alexander the Great, in the

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fourth century B. C. Egypt is a museum of ancient times and will come under our notice again.

On the eastern area of the map the Babylonian-Assyrian valley, watered and irrigated by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, was a garden spot of the earth. These broad plains nurtured a civilization hoary with age, that ultimately rivaled in glory and military power the best days of the kings on the Nile. The Babylonians and Assyrians built up kingdoms and empires that brought in subjection to their feet all the known nations of their day. In their military conquests both the kingdoms of Israel and Judah felt their hand, and were carried into captivity for violating their oaths of fealty. The Babylonian valley is a mine of antiquities whose treasures will receive further study in the course of our inquiry.

5. Small Lands.

The smaller lands that call for recognition in our survey are: (1) *Phœnicia*, on the northeast coast of the Mediterranean Sea, a narrow strip of shore-line about 180 miles long, centering about Tyre and Sidon. Its people were essentially a sea-folk, whose main activities were commercial, carried on by sea and by land. Their merchantmen plied the Mediterranean Sea and all its contiguous waters, such as the Nile River, the Black Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean. Their proximity to Palestine gave them a subtle influence over the Hebrews particularly during the centuries of the northern and southern kingdoms. Their sea-power preceding and during this period was supreme. (2) Eastern Asia Minor was the land of a powerful people whose military prowess gave pause even to the armies of Ramses II in the battle of Kadesh in the

thirteenth century B. C. These *Hittites*, whose civilization and history are still being unfolded, for long centuries had their capital at Carchemish on the upper Euphrates. These hardy peoples trickled down into Palestine and added some elements to the life of the Hebrews. They were the dominant power in Asia Minor for more than 700 years, and even until Sargon II of Assyria crushed their capital in 717 B. C. (3) On the towering mountains bordering southeast Babylonia were perched the *Elamites* in their age-long fortified city, Susa. For more than 2,000 years they occupied that superb location, watching and almost periodically raiding the rich centers of Babylonia. Their practical immunity from capture made them daring and defiant towards all rival powers. But the last great king of Assyria, Ashurbanipal, strategically drew them into a battle outside their walls, routed, defeated, and slaughtered them with terrible carnage, captured and sacked their proud capital Susa about 647 B. C.

6. Arabia. The country with the largest area within the bounds of the Old Testament world was *Arabia*. It is hemmed in by the Persian Gulf on the northeast, the Indian Ocean on the southeast, and the Red Sea on the southwest. Further encroachments of this nearly 3,500 miles of water-front are prevented by a fringe of hills and mountains, ranging from a few miles to about 150 miles in width, among which the native population subsists. A line drawn from the head of the Gulf of Suez eastward to the head of the Persian Gulf almost coincides with the thirtieth parallel of latitude. The central portion, the bulk, of Arabia within the semifertile border is a sandy waste, dotted occasionally with small

oases, that serve as a home for a few natives, and a refuge from lurking death which too often overtakes caravan trains that dare to cross it. The area of this vast country is estimated to be not far from one million square miles, about one-third of that of the United States. The population, mainly brown men, is estimated to be about 5,000,000—the approximate population of New York City. The Queen of Sheba and the Arabian troops in the allies that fought Shalmaneser III, carry our imaginations to the land whose real significance in southwestern Asia is just beginning to blossom out.

7. Syria-Palestine.

The physical center from which all our interest radiated in the Old Testament world was Syria-Palestine, bordering in general on the Mediterranean Sea on the west and the Arabian desert on the east and south. It was the land to which the nomadic, homeless Hebrews migrated, and finally secured a foothold. Here in its midst were Canaanite, Hivite, Perizzite, Jebusite; menaced by the aggressions and ambitions of Edomite, Moabite, Ammonite, Philistine, and Tyrian, the Hebrews established their capital, Jerusalem, and perfected their system of worship of their own God. On this small territory—never more than 50,000 square miles, and usually about 12,000—they acquired a self-consciousness, a self-confidence, and a national unity that made them a people feared by their immediate neighbors, and coveted by the great nations of that day. Living at the crossroads of rival powers they came into contact with the best civilizations and cultures of their times. With all these advantages laid at their doors, they were not equal to the strain. The corrupt lives and religions

of their neighbors, visitors, and conquerors, undermined their moral character, and dragged them down into the sorrows of defeat, disaster, and exile. Syria-Palestine was the stage on which the Hebrews played a rôle of universal significance to the human race.

8. Time Covered.

The period of time during which the Old Testament world is invested with interest for us, ranges from the migration of Abraham to the close of the Old Testament—about 1800 years, while the Old Testament narrative itself covers less than 1000 years. The geographical area was necessarily modified, and its boundaries shifted during the stretch of one millennium of time. In some centuries the center of interest fell in the west, in other periods in the east. Our purpose is to include within the boundaries already indicated, all the known places mentioned in the Old Testament, found either in early or late times, barring such disputed unknowns as Ophir, Anamim, and the like. And, moreover, to locate by countries the chief peoples, and the minor peoples whose lives fall within Old Testament times.

9. Picture.

With this sketch of the physical and racial background of the Old Testament in mind and on a map, we may better appreciate the distances between points, the physical surroundings, the local barriers, and the passes between countries, that figure so constantly in the Old Testament narrative. A mental vision of the waters in, or contiguous to, each land, of the streams that contributed to its fertility, of the mountain ranges that guarded or bordered it, of the peoples who tilled its soil, who built its cities, who constituted its

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armies, who carried on its commerce, will wonderfully stimulate in the mind of the reader of the Old Testament an aggressive interest of a new kind. The reader will picture himself stationed in a grand stand, ready to review the facts as they file by, and to take a new view of the stock of his knowledge of the historical geography of the Old Testament world.

NOTE ON FIG. 118, tail-piece below: Three of the dominant races of the Old Testament world were the Egyptians, the Amorites, who early occupied a large part of Syria, and the Babylonian-Assyrians. Three kings of those races are here represented, Ramses II, an Amorite on Ramses III's pylon at Thebes, and Ashurnatsirpal (884-860 B. C.).







CHAPTER II

AN AEROPLANE VIEW OF EGYPT

10. Nile. The Nile made Egypt. Without the Nile, Egypt would have been merely a part of the desert of Sahara. Rising in Central Africa, three degrees south of the equator, the White Nile, after a flow of about 2,500 miles, unites with the Blue Nile from the uplands of Abyssinia, at Khartum. Thence the united Nile plowed generally in a northerly direction, through the sandy wastes of the Sahara, a distance of 1,540 miles, until it poured its waters through the Delta into the Mediterranean Sea. The channel which it cut through the desert we call the valley of the Nile. Throughout its entire length after leaving Khartum it receives but one affluent, the seasonal torrential river Atbara, 140 miles north of the junction of the Niles. This combined river Nile gradually reduced by evaporation, by absorption in the soil of the desert, and by the irrigation systems of the country, nevertheless pours a marvelous quantity of water into the Mediterranean Sea, a distance of more than 4,000 miles from its source.

Without any appreciable rainfall, Egypt's fertility and

NOTE ON FIG. 44, head-piece above: This symbol of the sun-god was thought of as a falcon with wings outspread for flying in the heavens. The uræus on either side of the sun was the sacred snake of the Egyptians, seen so often on crowns and other head-pieces of noble personages,

perpetuity have always been dependent on the water supply of the Nile. The White Nile maintains a constant supply, while the Blue Nile and the Atbara carry down the surplus of heavy rains in the tablelands of Abyssinia, that cause the annual overflows which have always been such a blessing to Egypt. The pouring rains in Abyssinia from June to September swell the rivers rapidly, so that by early in September the Nile reaches its maximum, about 22 feet above the lowest stage at Assuan. By January the Blue Nile has discharged its surplus, and the White Nile again maintains its steady flow of about 14,000 cubic feet per second until the beginning of the next inundation in June. This amount of steady flow does not meet the needs of agriculture in Egypt, without the stupendous dam at the head of the Assuan cataract, and the barrage at Assiut, for the storage and distribution of water.

In breaking through the desert, the Nile below Khartum encountered six strata of unyielding rock. Found at unequal distances apart between the union of the two Niles and Assuan, there are rough rocky channels cut through those strata, which are appropriately called cataracts. The one at Assuan below the great dam is five miles in length, where the water playfully rushes over and around a wonderful exhibit of pink granite, out of which the one and a quarter mile length dam is built (Fig. 31). The sixth cataract, the one farthest away, is at Khartum.

11. Egypt Proper. Egypt proper is usually identified with the valley stretching from Assuan north to the Mediterranean Sea, a distance of about 675 miles. The width of this valley varies from ten to over

thirty miles. When the Nile reaches within about 120 miles of the Mediterranean Sea it spreads out into two main streams to deposit its waters in the sea. This area was called by the Greeks "Delta," which in early geologic times was doubtless a great bay, and later filled up by the silt and sediment carried from the upper regions of the river Atbara and the Blue Nile. The bottom of the valley from Assuan to Cairo is covered with rich soil, with alluvium deposited by the annual overflows, of about 35 feet in depth and to a maximum width of ten miles. The area of arable soil in this valley scarcely exceeds 10,000 square miles, that is, less than Palestine proper, and a little more than that of Massachusetts and Rhode Island together. But the richness of the soil produced almost incredible results in vegetable and cereal products. Even today Egypt supports seven hundred and fifty persons per square mile—a density greater than that of any country in Europe.

12. Shut in. Egypt was a country of distinguished isolation. The valley of the Nile is flanked on the east and on the west by bluffs, cliffs, and even mountains that hold back the aggressive sandy wastes of the desert, usually several hundred feet above the level of vegetation. The south is guarded by the long stretches of the upper Nile regions, of cataracts, and sandstone deserts. In lower Egypt the boundary-lines are not so securely sealed up against intruders and invaders. Between the Gulf of Suez and the Mediterranean there is a door through which the aggressive peoples of southwestern Asia could find and force an entrance if they should not receive a peaceful welcome. West of the Delta

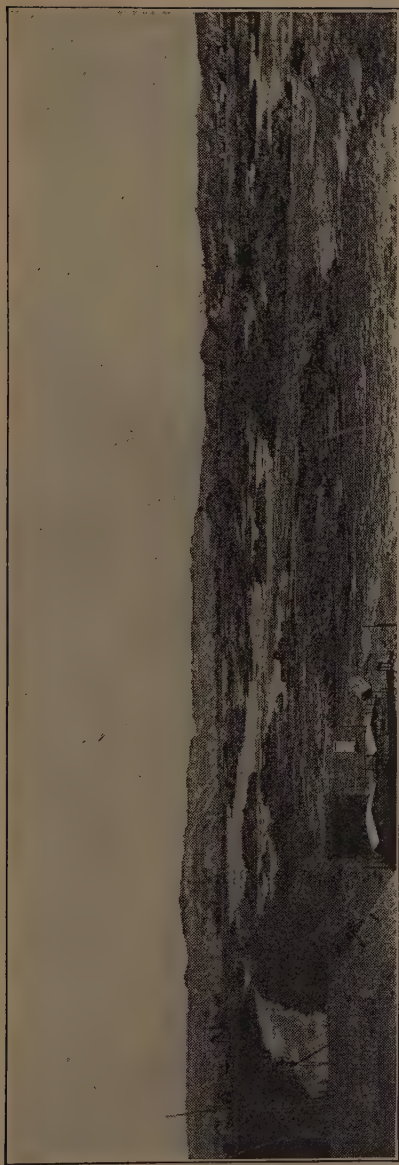


Fig. 31. The First Cataract of the Nile

The southern limit of Egypt proper is 675 miles from the Mediterranean Sea, marked by a five-mile rush and roar of waters through a series of rugged granite-ribbed channels. You are now standing by the Assuan dam looking north down over that wild cataract. This dam was built by the British government to make tillable 500,000 acres of land that previously was barren for lack of water.

the shore-line of the Mediterranean proved to be an opening for the Libyan peoples of northern Africa whose hardy mercenaries once secured control of the country. This valley, fortified against any invasion, and equipped with nature's endowments for agriculture, gave the people a protection and an isolation that encouraged and built up the arts of peace, that developed traits of character never found among aggressively warlike nations.

But in the course of the centuries, traders from the Sudan trickled down the Nile to Assuan, though in such few numbers as not to menace the homogeneity of the Egyptians. Likewise in Lower Egypt the earliest visitors were doubtless merchants and adventurers. Not until after the character of the Egyptians had developed into a rather fixed type, were there any considerable immigrations, or military invasions. The one highway into and through this settled people was the river Nile, the real life and subsistence of the nation. On its surface came the ships and barges of other peoples, as the Phœnicians, to engage in a commerce mutually beneficial. Egyptian grains found a market, and Phœnician wares a mart, where each people could profit by the exchange.

13. Monu- ments Preserved.

Egypt's frostless and practically rainless climate has done much for ancient history. The old temples, palaces, pyramids, and tombs so frequently seen in all Egypt and Nubia have been spared the destructive elements of severer climes. The almost perfect preservation of these abundant remains has aroused the admiration and the enthusiasm of all students of antiquity. Aware of the comparative permanence of material things, the Egyp-

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tians mummified their dead and buried them in high-ground or rocky tombs beyond the reach of inundation or other waters. This method insured their bodies against decay for use in the world to come and in the dry climate of Egypt innocently kept them intact for this later age of investigation.

On the walls of temples, palaces, obelisks, and tombs one could discern series of pictures arranged in regular parallels, columns or blocks. These appeared in such places and forms that they could scarcely be a method of ornamentation. If they were a language they were not intelligible to the modern native, to the traveler, or to the scholar. So numerous were these puzzling resemblances of a language that scholars all over the civilized world accepted the challenge to interpret the riddle. They recognized the whole archeological area of Egypt as a mute witness to the glory and power of an unknown past. Choice remains of Egypt were carried to centers of scholarship, to museums, and to libraries in the vain search for a key to their secrets.

14. Napo- leon in Egypt.

Not until Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798 was any effort made to gather up and classify the unparalleled remains of that ancient civilization. Some of the distinguished scholars whom Napoleon took with him on his campaign, carefully collected and systematized, and the French Government published, between 1809 and 1822, seven superb folio volumes, *La Description de l'Egypte*, one of introduction, three of text, and three of plates, many of them magnificently water-colored. This great work covered the available remains between the first cataract and the

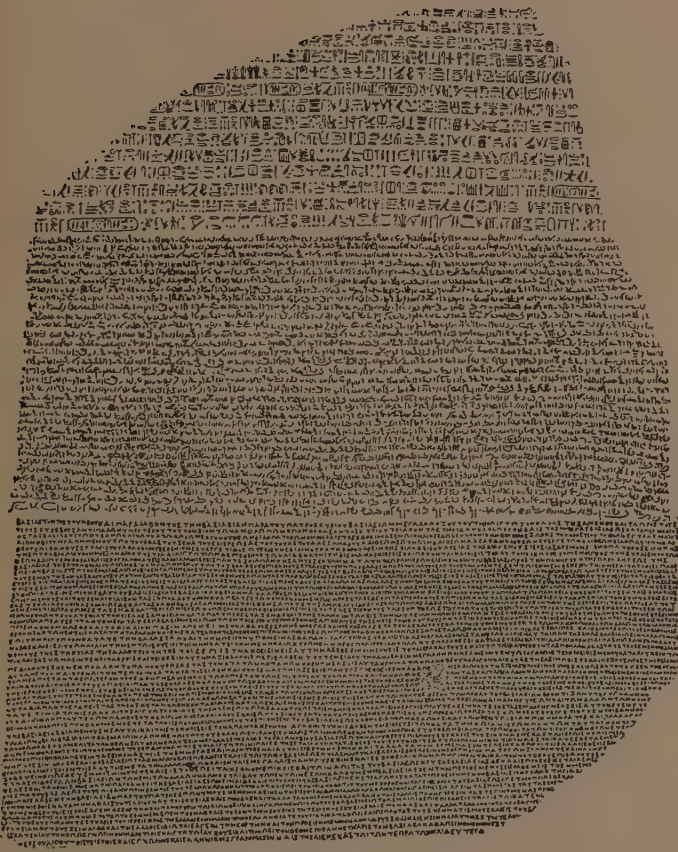


Fig. 124. The Rosetta Stone

A basaltic stone found in the Delta of Egypt in 1799 (§15), carrying on its surface, in the top register, hieroglyphic Egyptian, in the middle register, hieratic Egyptian, and in the bottom register, Greek—all telling the same story. In the hieroglyphic register the cartouches (ovals) give the names of Ptolemy. By a careful study of these cartouches with their exact equivalents in the Greek, Champollion discovered the key to the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs (§16).

Mediterranean Sea. Within the last century, since Egypt has been under the control of France and England, the antiquities have been largely rescued from the looting of the professional antiquity hunter, and have been explored under regulations that have guaranteed scientific procedure and intelligent preservation of invaluable material of a remote past.

15. Rosetta Stone.

The mute remains had revealed not one word of their secret. Napoleon's campaign made another master-stroke. While excavating at St. Julien near Rosetta, from which it takes its name, at the mouth of the western arm of the Nile, in 1799, Boussard, a French engineer, hit upon a strange stone. It was carefully dug out of its mud bed, and found to be black granite, 3 feet 9 inches high, 2 feet 4½ inches wide, and eleven inches thick. When cleaned off it was found that the top had been partly broken away, but there were still to be seen the greater part of fourteen lines of characters resembling those seen everywhere on the obelisks and ruined temples of the land. Just below these picture-lines were thirty-two lines of another species of script, and under these fifty-four lines, twenty-eight of them complete, in Greek capital letters.

The Greek was easily read, and told the story of the stone. It had been prepared and set up in 195 B. C., in honor of Ptolemy Epiphanes, by priests of Egypt in Memphis assembled, because he had remitted certain taxes due from the sacerdotal body. Among other things the priests said that Ptolemy "was pious toward the gods, ameliorated the life of man, was full of generous piety, and showed forth with all his might his sentiments of hu-

manity.” Those grateful priests had ordered that memorial to be inscribed in the ancient sacred characters of Egypt, in the vernacular, and in the Greek of the new régime, founded by Alexander. It was early conjectured that the upper two registers told the same story. Supposing this to be the case, the value of the document was at once revealed. It was carefully copied and packed for shipment to Paris. But the victory of the British at Alexandria, and the surrender of the city in 1801, carried with it the transfer of the treasure into the hands of the British Commissioner, W. R. Hamilton, one of the distinguished scholars of that day. The stone was then, by an irony of fate, shipped to England, and deposited in the British Museum, where it is a valued exhibit today. “This apparently insignificant stone,” says Baron Bunsen, “shares with the great and splendid work, *La Description de l’Egypte*, the honor of being the only result of vital importance to universal history accruing from a vast expedition, a brilliant conquest, and a bloody combat for the possession of Egypt.”

16. Lan- guages Translated.	Of the three languages on the Rosetta Stone, the one in Greek only could be translated. On the supposition that the three told the same story, scholars attempted for nearly twenty years to find the key to the unknown tongues. They succeeded, however, in finding the value of a few characters only. In 1818, Jean François Champollion (Frontispiece, No. 1), an ambitious, far-seeing young French scholar who had acquired a knowledge of Coptic and Egyptian geography, began to dip into Egyptian, especially that on the Rosetta Stone. By patient, inge-
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Fig. 125. The Rosetta Stone in the British Museum

This superb trilingual key to Egypt's mysteries found by the French now reposes in one of the most conspicuous places in the British Museum (§15). And by another twist of fate its first decipherer was a Frenchman, Champollion (§16). No one can overestimate the value of this great find for the unrolling of the great scroll of Egypt's past. /

nious, and close comparison of the characters in the two unknown registers, with the equivalents in the known Greek tongue below, he eventually succeeded in finding the long-lost combination that opened the creaking old door to the civilization of the Nile Valley. In 1822 he published his discovery to the world. A new era of



Fig. 117. Step-pyramid of King Zoser

This is probably the oldest representative of a terraced pyramid, built by King Zoser early in the thirtieth century, Third dynasty. It is about 200 feet high, and appears to have been built of a series of structures, each succeeding one smaller than the one underneath it. From this form developed the regular pyramid of the close of the thirtieth century, B. C. Note how similar it is to the ziggurats of Babylonia (§97).

ancient history was immediately made available. For the last hundred years the treasures of Egyptian literature and history have been continuously brought forth and translated by skilled Egyptologists until today we stand in awe of the tremendous civilization that developed and matured on the banks of the Nile.

**17. Begin-
nings of
Egypt.**

The chronology of Egyptian history, of the epochs of man's historical occupancy on the Nile, is not wholly agreed upon by Egyptologists. The scheme of Meyer and Breasted¹ commands wide acceptance today. The primitive civilization of Egypt was made up of several local lords or rulers, each practically independent. In course of time it seems that these petty districts so united as to yield two separate kingdoms, Upper Egypt, along the Nile valley, and Lower Egypt, embracing the Delta. The latter made such strides that in 4241 B. C., it probably invented and adopted the calendar year of 365 days, said to be "the earliest fixed date in the history of the world" as known to us.² These "two lands" lived and developed side by side, with checkered careers for fully 800 years when suddenly there appears, about 3400 B. C., a united Egypt under the sway of Menes, the founder of the First dynasty. The preceding period has been named the pre-dynastic age, to which we are now constantly adding new facts of especial significance.

Menes and his successors, at Thinis near Abydos (3400-2980 B. C.), through two dynasties, not improbably of the same family, still administered Egypt as two separate governments. Their successful régimes gave Egypt a name and a fame that distinguished those 420 years as the beginning of epochs in Egypt's history.

**18. Old
Kingdom.**

The Old Kingdom embraced dynasties three to six, covering a period of over 500 years (2980-2475 B. C.). Memphis was the capital whence all authority and enterprise emanated in the

¹ *History of Egypt*, p. 21.

² Breasted, *ibid.*, p. 32.



Fig. 116. Pyramids of Gizeh and the Inundation of the Nile

These two largest pyramids were the royal tombs of the kings of the Fourth dynasty who had them built on the sandy plateau above danger of inundations. The great pyramid of King Khufu (Greek *Cheops*) on the right was originally 481 feet high, and 768 feet at the base on each side, but its present dimensions are 451 feet high and 750 feet at the base on each side—the greatest structure of stone ever built by man, and at about 2900 B. C. The large one to the left was built under direction of King Khafre (Greek *Chephren*) of the same dynasty. On the east side of each pyramid was built a temple to keep food, clothing, and the like for each king, and connected by a covered corridor with the Nile valley below. In front of the second pyramid lies the sphinx of the same king, 187 feet long and sixty-six feet high.

Old Kingdom. Great material progress was made. Here we find the genius that originated and built the pyramids. Cheops, who founded the Fourth dynasty, built the first and largest real pyramidal tomb. This pile of masonry contains on an estimate more than two million blocks of stone. The material was probably quarried east of the Nile and transported and built by slave labor. Egyptian enterprise likewise penetrated into foreign parts; the mines in the Sinaitic peninsula were worked; Egyptian ships sailed to Phœnicia and islands in the Mediterranean Sea, and on the Red Sea to the coast of Somaliland, probably both north and south of the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. But the Sixth dynasty saw the beginnings of a new class of nobility, landed barons who became independent of the crown.

A period of breaking up (2475-2160 B. C.) followed the substantial gains of the Old Kingdom. Memphis lost its sovereignty. The ambitious nobles contended each for his own supremacy. The whole kingdom fell into a lot of small governments. Finally the nobility of Heracleopolis secured the throne, and, through eighteen successive rulers, exercised the power of feudal monarchs.

19. Middle Kingdom. The Middle Kingdom (2160-1788 B. C.) was inaugurated by the Eleventh dynasty, in which power was seized by a princely family at Thebes. But the united kingdom finds the local landed lords and barons in the saddle in spite of royal decrees. The Twelfth dynasty was opened by another family of Thebes, Amenemhet I being the founder thereof. Feudalism ingrained in the constitution of society was a fixed element in the sway of this dynasty.

Nevertheless, this was the glory age of Egypt. The material resources of the land were largely increased by the reclamation of arable lands especially in the Fayum, by developing mines in the region of Sinai, and by coastwise trading along the Red Sea and in journeys to Punt. More than this, these ambitious rulers began raiding campaigns into Syria, where they more firmly established trade relations. They also sent an army up the Nile and subjected the territory between the first and second cataracts, and secured control of gold-mines for the Pharaoh. Then in the finer things of life they made notable advances. Language and literature were studied and developed, architecture and sculpture reached a higher standard of excellence, and the superior character of handicraft goods gave Egypt a new fame.

20. **Hyksos.** The passing of the Twelfth dynasty was followed by another period of revolution and confusion (1788-1580 B. C.). The feudal lords scrambled for the crown. Those who secured it soon disappeared before rivals. Among the more powerful rulers one pushed Egypt's authority up the Nile and above the third cataract. Such local conflicts made for internal weakness and impairment of national defenses. Some time about the closing years of their first century foreigners from Asia trickled into the Delta in such numbers that they soon secured control of much of the country. Their headquarters were at Avaris in the Delta, not far from the eastern border through which they had come. By Manetho, the old Egyptian writer, they were called *Hyksos*. These hardy invaders really broke up the age-long conservatism and the peaceful local spirit of the quiet



Fig. 70. Hyksos Heads

The Hyksos or Amu of Asia poured into Egypt about 1788 B. C. and later, and secured partial control of the country. Records of their sway have been mostly wiped out (§20). But these remarkable faces have been found, from the left: (1) The head of a sphinx at Tanis; (2) A statue at Fayum; (3) A green basalt statue, now in the Louvre, Paris, all supposed to represent the strangers from Asia, who secured and held sway in Egypt in the period between the Thirteenth and Eighteenth dynasties.

Egyptian. After about a century of the sway of the rough and ready Asiatics, the native princes of Thebes arose with their newly adopted methods of warfare and drove the foreigners back into Asia.

21. Empire, Of the Empire, the Eighteenth dynasty
18-21 (1580-1350 B. C.) opened a new era. In

Dynasties. the crash at the expulsion of the Hyksos, the feudal lords perished from view, and a new king arose as founder of the Eighteenth dynasty. An army was thoroughly organized with cavalry and chariotry, introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos, and the line of dominion was drawn from Syria and the Euphrates in the north to the fourth cataract of the Nile in the far south. This dynasty succeeded in fusing Egypt into a single empire, with a single purpose and with aggressive methods. Its capital, Thebes, became a world-center of power, of trade, of art, and of worship. Its international relations were expanding to the limits of civilization. This marvelous dynasty prospered nearly 230 years, until it ran on the rocks under the rule of the heretic king, Ikhnaton, due largely to his Asiatic religious views, and the ever-aggressive campaigns of the warlike Hittites of Asia Minor. The Asiatic domain of Egypt was lost as internal strife brought to an end this great dynasty. In the limestone mountain west of Thebes the kings of this dynasty were entombed, among them Tut-ankhamon, a king of present fame. Before irreparable dissolution took place, Harmhab, an experienced and capable officer of the Eighteenth dynasty, usurped the throne. Within his reign he restored order and opened the Nineteenth dynasty (1350-1205 B. C.). His succes-

sors attempted to reconquer Asia, but were unable to oust the Hittites from their strongholds in Syria. Palestine was practically the northern limit of conquest of the sixty-seven years' reign of Ramses II. This Ramses II carried on stupendous building schemes in the Delta, in the capital, and in Nubia. Among the notable structures erected were Pithom and Raamses near the eastern border. Ramses II has been identified by many as the oppressor of the Hebrews in Egypt. His mummy is in the Cairo Museum. His son and successor, Merneptah, is thought to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus. During his reign the Libyans of North Africa attempted to pour over into the Delta from the west, but he was able to stem the tide.

The Nineteenth dynasty was lost in the mêlée at the end of Merneptah's reign. At the end of the confusion, Ramses III, of the Twentieth dynasty (1200-1090 B. C.), came to the throne. The adventurous peoples of the north, of Crete and Asia Minor, crossed the Mediterranean Sea to invade Egypt. Ramses met and defeated them in a great naval battle, depicted on the monuments. The Libyan invaders were also repulsed. But the northerners successfully invaded Palestine. The pressure from all sides was so great that at Ramses' death (1167 B. C.), the entire empire except Nubia tottered to its fall. Egypt's grip on Asia was lost, and her stand against foreigners was futile. The successive Ramesside rulers allowed the country to drift until it fell into the hands of ambitious high priests of Amon, who were forced to surrender to stronger rivals at Tanis in the Delta, and these victors formed the Twenty-first dynasty (1090-945 B. C.).

22. Foreign Dynasties. Foreign dynasties (945-663 B. C.) gave Egypt new policies. The mercenaries in the Egyptian army were foreigners from abroad. The *Libyans* were the most powerful of these and had settled in Egypt in large numbers. Sheshonk I, Shishak of the Old Testament, one of the Libyan officers of mercenary troops, seized the throne and established the Twenty-second dynasty. Ambitious to extend his power, Sheshonk I, in the fifth year of Rehoboam, invaded Palestine (1 Kings 14 : 25-28) and plundered Jerusalem. The royal residence was at Bubastis (Pi-beseth of Ezek. 30 : 17). His rule did not securely bind together the diverse ambitions of other Libyan officials, and the authority gradually gravitated into a number of independent domains. Crippled by internal dissension and economic decline, the Pharaohs could not prevent the assumption of independence at Napata near the fourth cataract, of the Nubian-Ethiopians. In fact, the impairment of the Libyan dynasties attracted the aggressive Nubian-Ethiopian rulers of the upper Nile. By 712 B. C., they completely ousted the Libyan lords and took over the sovereignty of Egypt, and established what is termed the Twenty-fifth dynasty (712-663 B. C.). The king to whom the Old Testament assigns some importance is Tirhakah (third in line) who abetted Hezekiah of Judah against the Assyrians (2 Kings 19 : 9). But the peace of Egypt was counterfeit. The internal strife between the Nubian-Ethiopian rulers and the local mercenary families presented an opportunity to Esarhaddon of Assyria who invaded the Delta in 670 B. C., and his successor Ashurbanipal in 662 B. C. carried his armies as

far as Thebes, and appallingly sacked that sacred city and drove the Ethiopians up the Nile.

23. Native Egyptians. Native Egyptians (662-525 B. C.) came back into their own. Assyrian domination was short-lived. Psamtik I, of an influential family at Sais, in the western Delta, organized a revolt, forced the local Assyrian garrisons out of the country, and founded the Twenty-sixth dynasty—an Egyptian for the Egyptians. Every attempt was made to revive interest in ancient Egypt, to emulate her progress, to imitate her culture and art, but the task was too great. Succeeding kings adopted the ways of Greek politics and thus weakened their own governmental structure. Necho, son of Psamtik I, appears in the rôle of leader of an army for the assistance of Assyria in its struggle with Babylon in 608 B. C. Josiah, king of Judah, foolishly attempted to interfere with Necho's advance (2 Kings 23 : 29) and was slain in the act. Necho and the allied Assyrians probably met their defeat at Carchemish in 605 B. C., when the former was driven back to Egypt. Of the succeeding kings of this dynasty, Apries (588-569 B. C.), or Hophra of the Old Testament, attempted to aid Zedekiah and incidentally to capture Palestine in the face of the Babylonian troops besieging Jerusalem (586 B. C., Jer. 37 : 5-7). But the army of Nebuchadrezzar was too much for him, and forced him back into his own land. The power and authority of Egypt was waning and became an easy prey to the Persian conquerors. Cambyzes, the Persian, defeated Psamtik III at Pelusium in 525 B. C., and Egypt became no more than another Persian province.

24. **Persians,** Persian sway (525-406, 342-32 B. C.) did
Greeks. not include Nubia-Ethiopia, or Upper Egypt.

To be out of reach of Persia the Ethiopian rulers changed their capital from Napata near the fourth to the sixth cataract at Meroe, or the later Khartum. Darius, of Old Testament fame, gave Egypt a prosperous reign, but his successors' administration fostered rebellions. From 406-342 B. C. three Egyptian dynasties tried their hand at government; but Persia again seized Egypt and held it firmly until the approach of Alexander the Great (331 B. C.).

The Ptolemies (323-31 B. C.) rode in on the wave of Alexander's arms. Alexander's hold on Egypt terminated at his death (323 B. C.), when Ptolemy Lagi, one of his generals, founded the line of the Ptolemies, who were in authority continuously until displaced by Augustus in 31 B. C. Many notable events occurred in this period. Alexandria was founded by Alexander and was built up by the energy, foresight, and wisdom of the Greeks who settled there. Greek became the prevailing language of that center and had much to do with carrying the Egyptian over into the Coptic language. Palestine was in the domain of the Ptolemies until 198 B. C. Alexandria became a favorite city of trading, for as a result of the tragic capture and slaughter of Tyre by Alexander in 331 B. C. Phoenicia no longer dominated the trade routes and trade of the Mediterranean, but that distinction was transferred to the conqueror's new city on the coast of the richest land touching this great inland sea. Alexandria became also a favorite center of learned Jews. It was here that the Hebrew Scriptures were first

translated into Greek, now named the "Septuagint," a version which exerted a profound influence in New Testament times, and in all the history of the early Christian church.

NOTE ON FIG. 120, tail-piece below: The left cartouche, the coronation title, was assumed when Ramses II ascended the throne: *Usermare-Setepnere*, "Strong in Truth, the Chosen of Re." Right cartouche: *Ramses-Meriamon*, "Ramses, the Beloved of Amon" (the state god of Thebes). Like Hebrew names in the Old Testament, all Egyptian names had meanings.







CHAPTER III

A GLANCE AT BABYLONIA-ASSYRIA

25. Euphrates-Tigris Valley. The great valley watered by the Euphrates and Tigris rivers was the homeland of Babylonia - Assyria. This river - basin played a prominent rôle in the ancient civilization of southwestern Asia. The book of Genesis finds the garden of Eden in proximity to the two main rivers of this region. From here Abraham migrated to the far unknown west. This was the center from which armies swept westward through Syria, Palestine, and even into Egypt. It was the land of the captivity and exile of the Hebrews whose rebellion against the rule of the Babylonian-Assyr-

NOTE ON FIG. 8, head-piece above: The royal bowman on the background of outstretched wings is the Assyrian god Ashur, whose symbol appears in several forms on war-standards, over war-chariots, and over battle-fields.

ian kings brought them to grief. In this valley, too, developed a civilization that in some respects vied with Egypt. Its learning, its architecture, its ruling power, its armies, its religion vitally affected all southwestern Asia, especially the Israelites. Its disappearance from the stage of action, as a center of civilization, was an unspeakable tragedy. Through all the centuries of that early past, that fertile valley was a lodestone that attracted peoples from every adjacent mountain, desert, and plain, and in this valley they ran their course, and left their mute witnessess.

**26. Great
Rivers.**

Babylonia-Assyria is wholly dependent on its two great rivers that sweep through the length of the valley from northwest to southeast, and pour their waters into the Persian Gulf. Their annual overflow caused by melting snows and rains, fertilizes the valley with water and alluvia brought down from the upper reaches of the north country. The Euphrates river rises in the mountains of Armenia on the north side of the same range out of whose south side pour the beginnings of the Tigris river. It flows west, then southwest until within about fifty miles of the Mediterranean Sea, when it swings around and runs southeast, down through the valley, enlarged at first by a few small tributaries, and then for 800 miles with no affluents until it joins the Tigris at Kurna, and together they enter the Persian Gulf. It is about 1,780 miles in length, a slow, lazy stream, navigable for nearly 1,200 miles of its length by easy-going flat boats, rafts, round boats, and the like. The Tigris, rising in the same mountains, takes a more direct course to the sea, plunges down through ravines



Fig. 27. Birs Nimrud, the Tower of Borsippa

Borsippa was less than twenty miles southwest of Babylon and its welfare was always a first interest of Babylon's king. Its temple of Nabu, Ezida, was one of Hammurabi's cares. The tower in this photograph may well have been the ziggurat of that famous center of worship and by modern travelers has been called the tower of Babel.

and gorges and then rushes almost southeastward through the country, nearly parallel to the Euphrates, until their union. Its swiftness and its depth make it both navigable and dangerous. It is said by geologists that originally the two rivers reached the Persian Gulf through separate mouths. The city of Eridu originally stood on the shores of the Persian Gulf; but now its ruins are 130 miles inland. The annual deposit of soil at the head of that gulf is now nearly 90 feet; extend such an increase over 5,500 years and we can see how fast this end of the valley has been filled in.

The area of Babylonia-Assyria has been roughly made up of two districts, in early history Akkad and Sumer, later North and South Babylonia, then Assyria and Babylonia, with the Sea-lands about the Persian Gulf. The boundary lines fluctuated according to the ruling powers. Assyria in general was about 350 miles long, by an average of 250 miles in width; and Babylonia about 300 miles long and about 100 miles wide—the entire area a little larger than the combined States of Wisconsin and Illinois. The fertility of that valley was famous in ancient times, and is today where it has received proper care. The climate is temperate except in the summer when it becomes torrid, and impossible for Americans or Europeans. The resources of the valley were its fertile soil and its water.

Babylonia-Assyria was open to all oncomers.

27. Unprotected by Nature.

It stood naturally unprotected, in sharp contrast with Egypt, whose isolation gave her at first a unique growth. Babylonia-Assyria had next to no natural boundaries to defend her against raiders, invaders, or enemies. Besides, there was no

sharp line of demarcation between north and south Babylonia, nor between Arabia and Babylonia. The unprotected character of this great valley, and its fertility, made it the easy and desirable goal of every adjoining people. No race could settle here without ample protection, and no race could claim it as its own without some military defenses. Therefore the history of this valley embraces a succession of settlements, colonies, city states, governments, kingdoms, and empires. The cupidity of the adjoining nations menaced the strongest governments, and forced political combinations that finally made that valley the center of world powers. The early Babylonians penetrated to the Mediterranean Sea; and the Assyrian armies swept through the west and southwest into Egypt. They in turn were succeeded by Chaldeans, they by the Persians, and they by the Greeks—until that center of power, of commerce, and of culture, passed out of world view.

**28. Mounds
of the
Past.**

The great cities, towers, and temples of Babylonia-Assyria are represented only by mounds of débris, heaps of ruins scattered all over the valley. Built mainly of brick, burnt and unburnt—their only native building material—these structures were none too enduring at best. The fierceness of the onslaughts of the attackers, aided by the invincible ravages of time, had made the great Babylonian-Assyrian cities of those glorious days little more than a tradition in the annals of early Greek historians.

Successive visitors to this valley for centuries had been struck by the curious old mounds of different shapes, which dotted the entire landscape. Out of the top of many of them could be seen a tower rising heavenward.

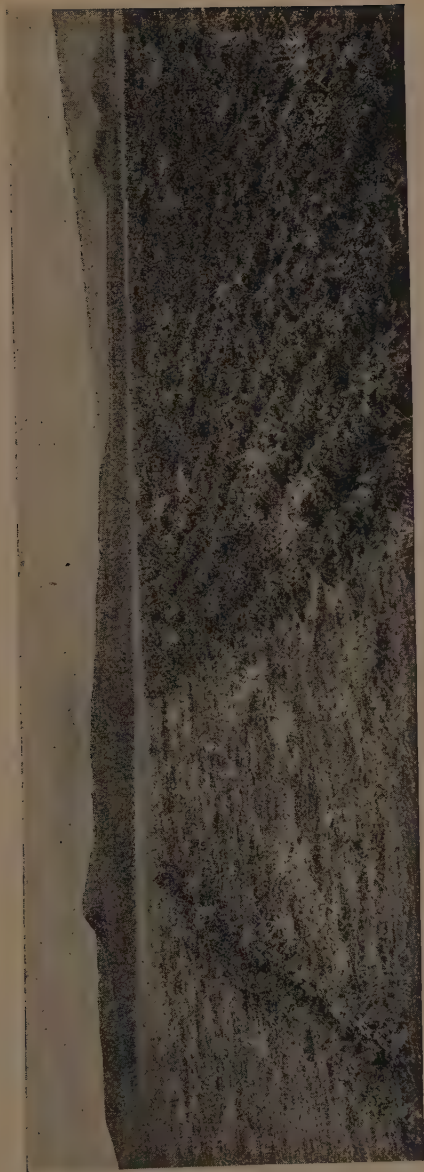


Fig. 131. Mound of the Palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad

Twelve miles north of Nineveh, Sargon established his residence at Khorsabad (Dur Shar-rukin), whose ruins look as above. The high point on the left is the tower or ziggurat and the two knolls at the right the city gates. Its excavation was a notable event in Babylonian-Assyrian study (§30).

Across the country one could discern here and there the dry bed of what must have been a canal, an irrigating canal, to provide water for the soil and also for navigation of a primitive character. In fact, there were no real buildings or walls as in Egypt in plain sight—all were buried from view.

**29. Tablet
Remains.**

What these mounds covered was only a conjecture based on an incidental find here and there in a gulley cut out by the rains of long years, of clay bricks covered with a kind of writing. For centuries long travelers with an archeological turn of mind gathered up some of these curiosities. In 1801, the British East India Company's resident at Basra in Babylonia, on instructions from his company, gathered up and sent the first collection of tablets to London, where they are now kept in that company's offices. Between 1818 and 1820, C. J. Rich, an Englishman, resident at Baghdad, for the same company, did some investigating on his own account about several of the large mounds. He assembled a goodly number of tablets and sent them to the British Museum, where one can now see them. Rich became so infatuated with his discoveries that he published his results in two thin volumes, one in 1816, entitled *Observations on the Ruins of Babylon*, and the second in 1818.

**30. Botta's
Finds.**

The decipherment of the Rosetta Stone in 1822 may have sunk into the minds of scholars and Orientalists. At any rate, Babylonia-Assyria lay untouched thereafter until 1842, twenty-four years, when the French government appointed a vice-consul, P. E. Botta, to the city of Mosul, on

the upper Tigris river, opposite the site of Old Nineveh. Botta's experience as a former consul at Alexandria, Egypt, had stimulated his archeological interests. On the east side of the Tigris, opposite Mosul, he noticed a range of extensive artificial mounds, presumably ruins of ancient buildings. His interest led him to employ a force of diggers and to begin work. His desire to preserve every piece of brick that was marked stirred up the natives. In fact, the peasants from the neighborhood brought him many fragments of alabaster and inscribed bricks. One of them asked why he was so careful to keep all such bits of broken stuff. When told that he was in search of sculptures and inscriptions, a peasant advised him to investigate the mound on which his village was built, because in digging the foundations for their new houses many such things had been found. On further inquiry, the consul learned that that village was Khorsabad, situated on a little hill near the river Khosr, about 12 miles north of Mosul (Fig. 131). Botta transferred his force of native diggers to this new location. After an all-round examination of this curious mound he began operations at the top by sinking a shaft. Not far from the surface he struck the top of a wall, which he found to be built partly of gypsum. A wider trench was made and carried along in the same direction as the wall. Botta soon discovered that he had entered a room of immense proportions. All the walls were wainscoted with sculptured alabaster slabs, upon which he saw a mysterious panorama. There were figures of battles, sieges, triumphal processions, hunting scenes, and like events—all in relief. Across the face of many of these scenes were inscribed



Fig. 29. Mound of Calah-Nimrud

About twenty miles below Nineveh, was an old Assyrian capital where Layard found the Black Obelisk (Fig. 140).
various colossi, and remains of several palaces. Place and Rassam likewise made important finds in this ruin. The
mound still contains a treasure of antiquities (§31).

lines of characters similar to those found on the bits of burnt bricks and alabaster found scattered on the plain. Aroused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, Botta passed from this first room into others of similar dimensions, ornamentation, and design. He pushed on and on, until he discovered acres of such chambers, with scores of mysterious figures and colossi. When he once stopped to think of the antiquity of his finds, he was astounded. He faced a new race. A new-old civilization gazed upon him from every slab of alabaster, and from every giant colossus. In fact, he seemed to be walking in a dreamland, inhabited by gods, fairies, and colossi, by demons, dragons, and crooked things.

Botta's discoveries aroused the enthusiasm of the whole archeological and historical world. A refreshing impulse was given to the study of the near Orient. The French Government, highly gratified at the marvelous success of its consul, supplied him with ample means for further research. With enthusiastic efforts and energy Botta prosecuted his discoveries until he succeeded in revealing much of what afterward proved to be the palace of the great Sargon II (722-705 B. C.), one of the most gorgeous ancient palaces the world had ever seen, covering an area of more than twenty-five acres. Sargon's name had come down to us only in Isaiah 20 : 1. The movable antiquities from this palace were brought to Paris and deposited in the Louvre. With the help of E. Flandin, an architect, Botta prepared and the French government published five large folio volumes, containing about 400 plates under the title, *Monument de Ninive* (Paris, 1849-50). Botta's successor, Victor Place, not only uncovered

more of this palace, but made attempts at old Ashur and Calah. His antiquities were brought to France, except one consignment which was accidentally sunk in the Tigris. His results were published in three volumes, *Ninive et l'Assyrie* (Paris, 1867-70).

**31. Layard
at Calah,
Nineveh.**

Botta's and Place's brilliant success had fired the enthusiasm of a young Englishman, Austin Henry Layard, who visited the East early in the forties to look over the prospects of profitable excavations. In the autumn of 1845, Sir Stratford Canning graciously offered to meet the expenses of excavations for a limited time, with a hint that success would guarantee help for the same work in the future.

Layard's initial efforts were made at Nimrud (Fig. 29, Calah, Gen. 10 : 11), about twenty miles southeast of Mosul, and one and one-half miles east of the Tigris river. His indomitable energy surmounted the local difficulties, and in an incredibly short time succeeded in uncovering one of the most beautiful palaces of antiquity. This palace afterward proved to be the joint work of a king of Assyria, Ashurnatsirpal, who reigned 884-860 B. C.—a contemporary of Omri, king of Israel—and of Sargon II already referred to. The rooms of this palace were everywhere wainscoted with alabaster slabs about seven feet high. Marvelous figures in relief were found either on one separate slab, or sometimes extending over several slabs. Across the middle of these figures were found lines of the same wedge-shaped characters already mentioned. Out of this palace Layard took more than one hundred alabaster slabs and colossi, and transported a large number of them to the British Museum. About

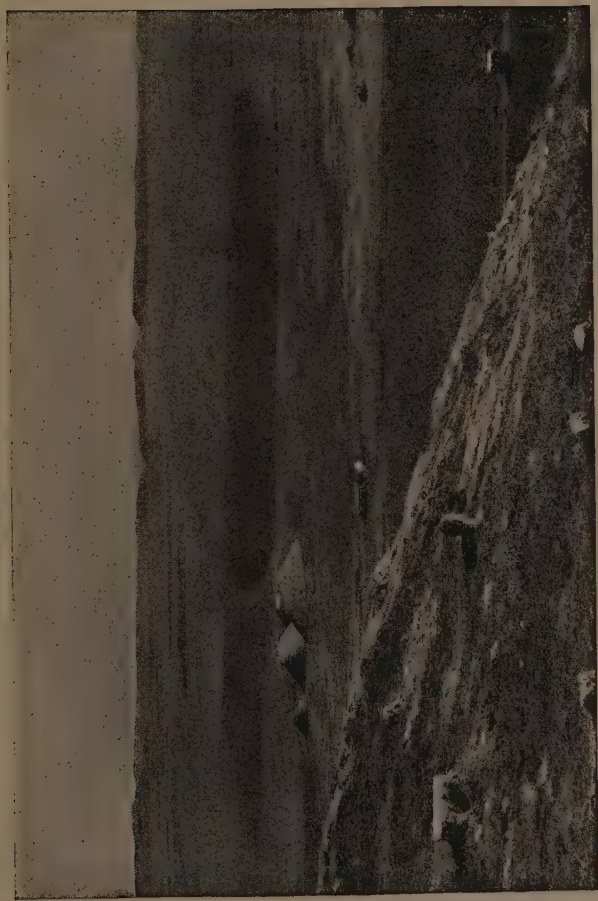


Fig. 105. Nineveh a Waste

Nineveh's fate (Zeph. 2 : 13-15) uttered near the time of her fall is grimly illustrated above. The city walls, now ridges in the distance, and the flat fields of farm lands, were the penalty for her outrageous treatment of the nations of her day (Nahum 3 : 7, 19).

twenty-five of them may be seen in the museums and colleges of the United States. One of the chief attractions of visitors to the British Museum today is the collection of giant-winged, human-headed bulls and lions, and eagle-headed deities, brought by Layard from Nimrud. Layard's work at this mound extended, at intervals, over several years, during which he uncovered parts of five palaces.

At the mound Kuyunjik on the site of old Nineveh, Layard with ample means at his disposal uncovered what afterward proved to be the palace of Sennacherib (705-681 B. C.), son of Sargon, builder of Khorsabad. This palace, as that at Nimrud, was a mine of archeological treasures, rich in the number of its bas-reliefs, winged-bulls, lions, and other colossi.

32. Layard and Others. Layard's astounding revelations in the mounds Nimrud and Kuyunjik created an ardent enthusiasm among all students of oriental lore. To preserve his story of his stupendous finds Layard issued *Nineveh and Its Remains*, two volumes, and *Nineveh and Babylon*, one volume; also two volumes of drawings of the monuments, entitled *The Monuments of Nineveh*; and also one volume of inscriptions. Layard's success won from the British government his appointment to diplomatic positions where he could further the cause for which he had labored so many years. After a brilliant career as archeologist and diplomat, he died in London, July 5, 1894.

Layard's work of excavation was continued by others, though for a time yielding rather minor results. In 1850, W. K. Loftus did some little work at Warka (Erech, Gen.

10 : 10) in Southern Babylonia. Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, British consul-general at Baghdad, had charge of British excavations in that valley, 1851-55. J. E. Taylor under his oversight inspected the mound Mugheir, site of Ur of the Chaldees, and brought to light important antiquities. The French government also was alert to what was going on in Babylonia. In 1852 Oppert (Fig. 110) for the French carried on work at old Babylon and at Nimrud. In the same year under Rawlinson's direction, Rassam, one of Layard's chief helpers, unearthed on the site of old Nineveh, the palace of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.), who as book-lover had amassed a great library of cuneiform tablets, many thousands of which are now in the British Museum.

**33. George
Smith.**

It was not until 1872 that any further serious excavations were undertaken. At that time, an engraver employed in the British Museum, a young genius, George Smith, discovered fragments of a tablet on which was inscribed an account of the deluge (Gen. 6 to 9). *The Daily Telegraph* of London sent him in 1873 at their own expense to the site of Nineveh, to find, if possible, other fragments of the same story. Smith extended the excavations of his predecessors in one of the mounds of old Nineveh, and was rewarded by finding a library of 30,000 tablets and cylinders, which had belonged to the collection of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.), a contemporary of Manasseh and Josiah of Judah. The position that these tablets occupied showed that they had been classified by topics somewhat as we arrange our books on the shelves of our libraries. They were on the whole in a good state of preservation.

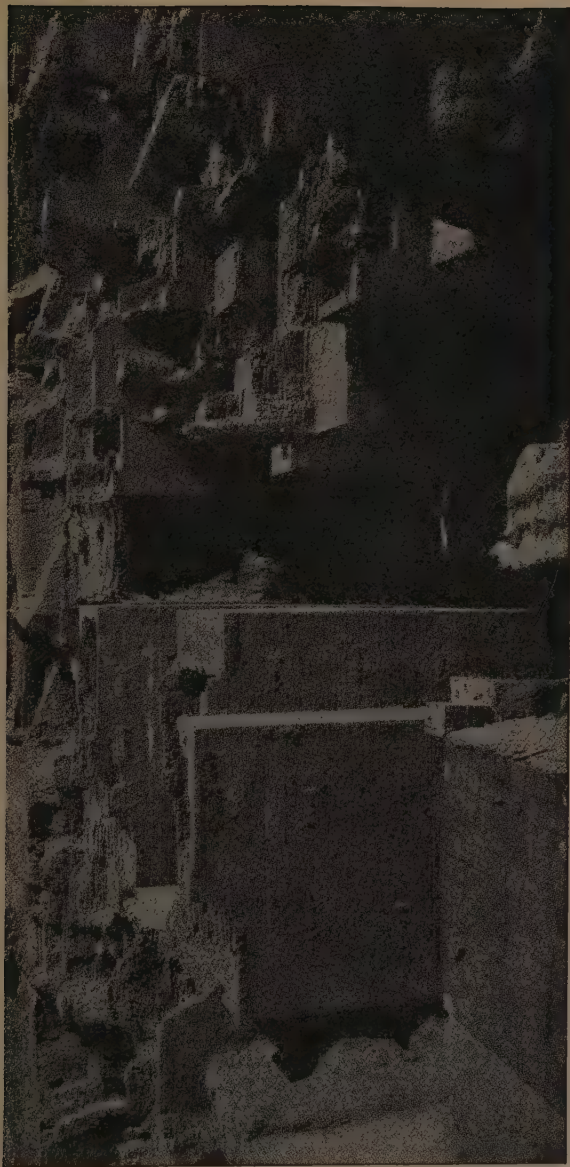


Fig. 71. The Ishtar Gate of Babylon

The German excavations at Babylon (§36) uncovered this remarkable gate just as you see it. Its towers are about forty feet high and covered with reliefs in plain and enamel brick. Bulls and griffins alternate thereon, each about three feet high, and there are 575 of them. The bull was sacred to Adad, the weather god, and the griffin—a stalking serpent with a scaly coat and tail, and a head with a thrust-out forked tongue—was the symbol of Marduk, the god of Babylon. It was built by Nebuchadrezzar in the early part of the sixth century B. C. (§247).

In this library Smith discovered more fragments of the famous creation and deluge tablets, about which I shall have something to say in a subsequent chapter. Smith made two successful expeditions, and while on his way for a third, died of a fever in Aleppo, Syria, August 19, 1876, an irreparable loss to the science of Assyriology. An account of his work is found in his volume entitled *Assyrian Discoveries* (1875).

After the death of Smith, the trustees of the British Museum sent out Rassam, Layard's former chief, who had carried on extensive excavations in the Mesopotamian valley. He employed more than five hundred diggers at one time and on several sites, and brought back to London some of the most valuable collections of inscriptions and other specimens of antiquity that the British Museum owns (No. 4, Frontispiece).

In 1877 the French vice-consul at Basra in Babylonia, Ernest de Sarzec, after a tour of inspection, began to excavate at Tello in Southern Babylonia. He soon uncovered enough remains to identify the place as the ancient Sumerian city Shirkurla or Lagash. Palaces, temples, statues, inscriptions of many kinds rewarded his efforts. With interruptions he carried on his activities until his death in 1901, and contributed to the scientific world and to the Louvre the most important collection of Sumerian antiquities found in any museum (No. 7, Frontispiece).

Captain Gaston Cros has continued the work of de Sarzec and given us many additional treasures from Tello, the most important of which are those which depict the reign of Gudea, about 2450 B. C.

34. Tell el-
Amarna,
Nippur.

In 1887 a peasant woman in Egypt discovered a collection of about three hundred cuneiform tablets at Tell el-Amarna on the Nile. These proved to be a collection of letters written in the Babylonian language by governors, officers, and individuals from many cities in Asia to the then reigning kings of Egypt, Amenhotep III and IV (1411-1358 B. C.). They describe their political distress in the face of invaders who are crowding into the domain of the Egyptian ruler, and make pathetic appeals for help against the treachery of some of Egypt's ambitious officers. They are a moving picture of the peoples in Babylonia and southwestern Asia during the first-half of the fourteenth century B. C.

In 1889, the University of Pennsylvania fitted out an exploration party to Babylonia under the leadership of Dr. John P. Peters. This campaign concentrated its efforts on Nuffar, the ancient Nippur, about sixty miles southeast of Babylon. Professors R. F. Harper, of the University of Chicago, and H. V. Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania, were the Assyriologists of the first expedition

Doctor Peters conducted two campaigns, and has told us the story in two fine volumes entitled *Nippur* (1897). Successive campaigns were led by J. H. Haynes. As a result of these expeditions the University of Pennsylvania has acquired an immensely valuable collection of tablets touching almost every period of the history of that famous city down to Persian times, and more than a score of volumes of the inscriptions of that collection are now available for the study of the scholarly guild.



Fig. 9. Ashur, the One-time Capital of Assyria (Kaleh-Shergat)

You are looking toward the south over the excavations of Ashur (§36) which stands on the right bank of the Tigris river, about sixty-five miles south of Nineveh. This old capital reaches back, at least, to the middle of the third millennium B. C. The Germans took out of these ruins great quantities of tablets of immense value, which up to the present are only partly published.

**35. Susa,
Bismya.**

While Susa is not in Babylonia proper, its excavations help us the better to understand some of the events of the valley. In 1884-86 J. de Morgan, a French archeologist of note, excavated on the old mound Susa. The success of his expedition is seen in the fact that he uncovered almost one complete palace, dating from the time of the Persian kings. This palace is supposed to have been identical with the one in which Queen Esther is thought to have played her rôle narrated in the book named after her. So astonishing were the finds of that campaign that the Louvre in Paris has two large rooms devoted to the exhibition of those Persian treasures. The director has published his story with lavish illustrations in a volume entitled *L'Acropole de Susa* (1890) and in several later volumes.

In 1900-1902 another French expedition made further incisions into that mound and took out at least two notable pieces, (1) an inscription of Manishtusu, king of Kish 2700 B. C., (2) the code of Hammurabi, the most startling revelation of regulated Babylonian life in the twenty-first century B. C.—both doubtless taken as trophies of war-raids into Babylonia, when the Elamites were able to penetrate as far as ancient Kish.

By the munificence of John D. Rockefeller, the University of Chicago in 1903-4 sent an expedition into Babylonia with Professor R. F. Harper as Scientific Director and Edgar J. Banks as Field Director. Work was begun at Bismya, the ancient Adab, one of the oldest Sumerian cities of that old group of city-states, which had not been occupied since 2600 B. C. Some very ancient tablets, a statue or two, and a lot of archeological objects embrace

the chief finds. The story has been told by the Field Director in a volume entitled *Bismya* (1912).

36. German Diggings. A German Society, the *Orient-Gesellschaft*, began work on the site of old Babylon in 1899 under the leadership of Dr. Robert Koldewey. This expedition uncovered a series of great establishments of king Nebuchadrezzar II (605-562 B. C.) The palace, temple, and walls of that monarch were partly laid bare, together with some notable streets of his capital. Koldewey continued his work until forced to quit by the World War. He has published in worthy form the wonderful archeological results of his extensive labors on this site (No. 10, Frontispiece).

The same German Society also carried on elaborate diggings on the site Kaleh-Shergat on the Tigris under the direction of W. Andrae since 1902. This is the site of the ancient capital of Assyria, Ashur (Gen. 10 : 10, 11), which probably gave the name to the country. Temples, palaces, inscriptions from every period of Assyrian history, and vast quantities of archeological material were uncovered and transported to Berlin. Andrae has published several luxurious volumes of illustrated archeological finds; and German Assyriologists have issued many volumes of important inscriptions.

Another far-reaching find was made by Professor Hugo Winckler at Boghaz-Keui in Asia Minor. In the ruins of that old site he found hundreds of tablets in the cuneiform script, carrying the Hittite language and a half-dozen dialects of that region. Just north and not far away there were likewise found great numbers of cuneiform tablets embodying the Cappadocian language.

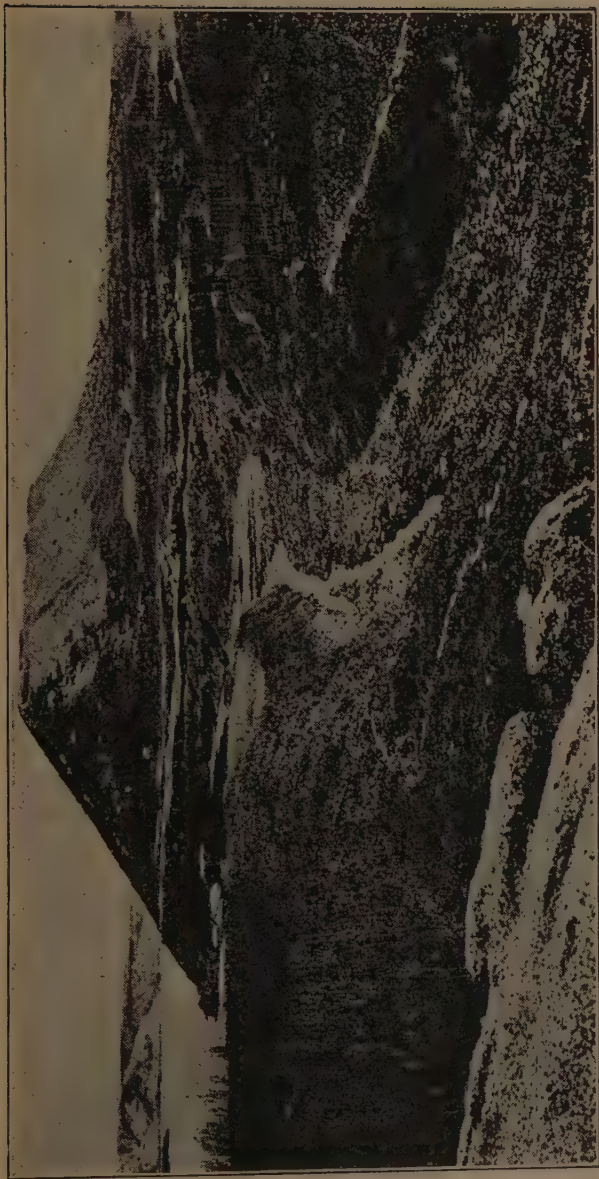


Fig. 30. Mound of Carchemish

The key city on the west side of the upper Euphrates river during a long period of history. A Hittite center until Sargon II crushed it in 717 B. C. Nebuchadnezzar defeated and routed the Egyptians at this city under Necho in 605, and probably the remnant of the Assyrians. You are looking southeastward down the Euphrates.

37. **Carchemish, Kish.** In 1912-14 the British did some systematic excavating on the site of old Carchemish on the upper Euphrates, but mainly with archeological results (Fig. 30).

In 1914, a French expedition under the leadership of H. de Genouillac excavated at Ukhaimir the site of the old Semitic capital Kish. At the present time, The Field Museum and Oxford University are excavating the same old Sumerian and Semitic center (Fig. 85).

With this sketch of the chief expeditions and their results in the regions of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, and other cuneiform caches, I pass on to the decipherment and interpretation of these great clay libraries of the ancient world.

NOTE ON FIG. 85, tail-piece below: The excavators call this "the oldest writing ever discovered." It was found in the ruins of the old Sumerian palace at Kish, and dates about 4000 B. C. Its forms are wholly hieroglyphic in character.





CHAPTER IV

DECIPHERMENT OF THE BABYLONIAN-ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS

38. Wedge-writing.

The cuneiform or wedge-writing was developed from a linear form of script, and the lines were the simplification of pictures. In place of lines the sophisticated writing soon used wedges with the head end of the wedge on the left or on top (𐎶), or slanting upward or downward thus (𐎵).

The writing material used was clay, stone, or metal. The last two were simply smoothed down to such a surface

NOTE ON FIG. 123, head-piece above: In 1816, C. J. Rich published this beautiful plate of a Babylonian inscription as a specimen of an unknown language. It was more than thirty years before Rawlinson through the Behistun Rock inscription could translate it. It is the same as that on Fig. 102 except the last word.

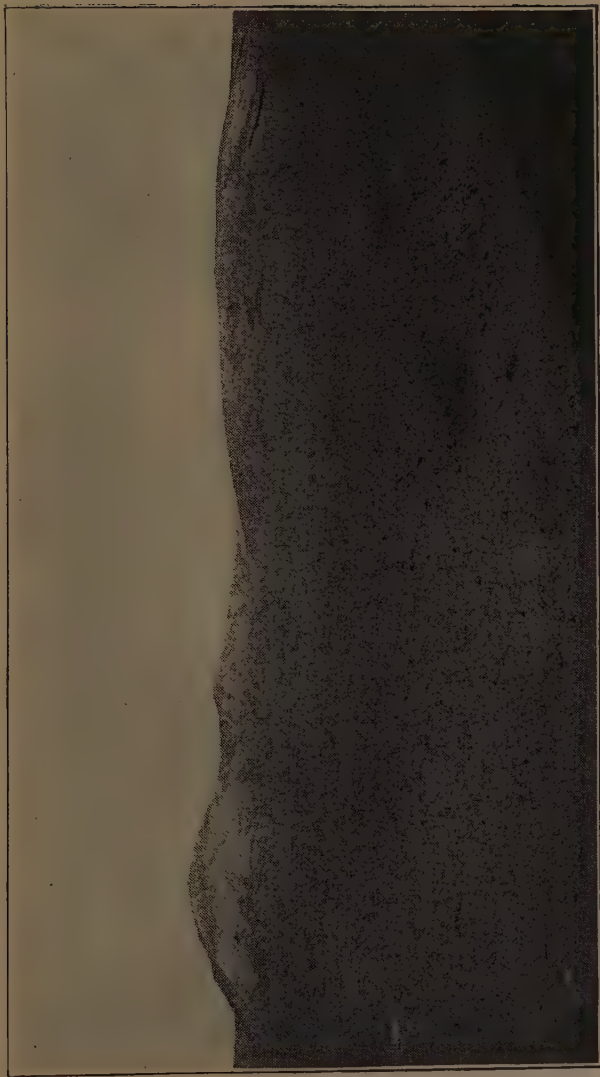


Fig. 83. View of the Present Mounds of Kish

You are looking eastward from near the Euphrates at mounds which cover two ziggurats (towers) and four temples, according to the investigations of the Kish expedition now at work on some of these old mounds, representing Sumerian civilization of early Babylonia.

that the wedges could be readily chiseled into them. But the real test of genius came when they were obliged to prepare clay for use in writing. The process was quite simple. In the first place, the scribe secured a small bit of soft clay, free from stones or hard kernels of any kind. This he molded or pressed until it became the form and size of an ordinary cake of toilet soap. Into this prepared piece of clear clay he pressed what appears to have been the corner of a cube, with one of its edges forming, with the surface of the clay, a very sharp angle. The impression made by such a process would be wedge-shaped. These wedges put together in different positions formed signs, and these signs constituted the language on these tablets. Of course, some tablets were larger and some smaller than that here mentioned, but this was about the average size. As soon as the work of writing was finished, the tablet was baked hard to preserve it from crumbling. Even well-made baked bricks cannot always withstand the ravages of time.

But of these baked bricks there are in the museums of the civilized world today many more than 200,000, besides the many thousands in libraries and in the hands of private collectors. The inscriptions cut in stone on the colossi, the alabaster slabs in the palaces, the numerous memorial statues, the boundary stones and dedicatory monuments, furnish us with a library of useful literature of Babylonian-Assyrian days.

39. Behistun Rock. The early excavations gave us a mass of material on which the wedge-writing appeared. It was a curious and unsolved riddle. Oriental scholars in Germany, England, France,

and Scandinavia, set their wits to unravel the cuneiform script of old Persia. While several shrewd guesses were made by a number of scholars, no substantial progress was made until a young Englishman, an officer in the Persian army, Henry C. Rawlinson, made a discovery in 1835 in the Zagros mountains. There he found a limestone mountain rising out of the plain to a height of 1,700 feet. One side of this mass was almost perpendicular. About 350 feet above the base on this perpendicular side, Rawlinson could see a large space which had been carefully hewn off and polished. Upon this smoothed surface he could also discern a large bas-relief representing a king over whom was a symbol of the god Ahuramazda, and before whom stood a line of prisoners bound neck to neck with a rope. To the left and below this great group were several columns of cuneiform inscriptions. Rawlinson thought that in ancient times there might have been a scaffold of some kind, so that the passer-by might climb up and read the inscriptions; but such convenience had entirely disappeared. Rawlinson's perseverance over slippery and dangerous places finally brought him to the narrow ledge at the foot of the inscriptions. This ledge, about fourteen inches wide, had been made when the large surface had been smoothed off, and the artist's work done. Rawlinson resolved at once to copy these columns of mysterious inscriptions. The narrowness of the ledge, and the disappearance of a part of it by the ravages of time, and the fearful drop of 350 feet below him, put him in constant peril. Some of the inscriptions he could copy from his footing on the ledge, for others he was obliged to climb a ladder, the foot of which was held on the 14-



Fig. 25. The Behistun Rock

Facing the highway between Babylon and the plateau of Persia in sight of every passing caravan, stands this lone rock (§39). Three hundred feet above the ground is a space about 25x50 feet worth more to history than any equal space in Asia. The relief represents Darius' triumphal reception to his rivals (conspirators). The four and one-half columns beneath and to the right are an inscription in the old Persian cuneiform alphabet of thirty-nine letters. The broad single column to the left of the sculpture is the Babylonian cuneiform with its hundreds of signs (§44). The three columns beneath and to the left is the Susian cuneiform. All three inscriptions tell the same story, and Rawlinson, who had copied the three, also translated the Persian and the Babylonian (§§40-1), and showed that this exhibit was really the Rosetta Stone for the history of the civilizations of southwestern Asia.

inch ledge by an attendant. But even this perilous method could not be carried out above the space from which the ledge had been worn away. Different schemes were devised and native help employed to accomplish his purpose. For a time he was suspended in a swing in front of the columns like painters at work on the sides of our modern skyscrapers. Suffice it to say that only after most painstaking effort and dangerous risks, at intervals during four years, was Rawlinson able to complete the copying of these many columns of cuneiform writing.

40. Old Persian Translated. Rawlinson soon discovered, however, that he had not one language but three in the 1,200 lines of inscriptions which he had copied. Being familiar with modern Persian, he was partially prepared for the task before him. Through this avenue, Rawlinson tackled, as had other scholars, the old Persian cuneiform. He centered his attacks on proper names, selecting on this occasion, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, and *Hystaspes*. These names occurred on several smaller inscriptions, and by ingenious guesses, he made out some of the letters of which the names were constituted. By testing these values in other words the meanings of which were known to him as a kenner of modern Persian, Rawlinson finally succeeded in translating the five columns—nearly four hundred lines—of the old Persian cuneiform writing. Ten years after the discovery of the inscriptions on the Behistun rock Rawlinson sent his translation to Europe. In 1847, the text, translation, and commentary appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

These inscriptions, Rawlinson reported, were cut here

by order of Darius I, king of Persia, about 515 B. C. They relate how an insurrection broke out in Susiana, while Darius was occupied in reforming his national faith; how the ringleader was seized without any military force, and how Darius himself led his troops to put down another rebellion in Babylon. Much collateral historical material is sprinkled through the old document.

On the supposition that the other two inscriptions told the same story, scholars began an attempt to translate them. Soon the second tongue, the Median or Susian, began to yield its secrets. Then the third series of texts, the Babylonian, was forced to give up its hidden treasures. This Behistun group then was found to sustain a similar relation to the cuneiform languages of Babylonia that the Rosetta Stone sustained to the tongues of ancient Egypt. It was the key to its ancient writings, life, peoples, and governments.

But, as in all cases of great advance in any one department, there were doubters and sceptics as to the validity of the alleged results. To make a final test of scholars' ability to read and interpret these inscriptions, four men, H. C. Rawlinson, the discoverer and translator of the Old Persian inscription; Edward Hincks, an Irishman; J. Oppert, a Frenchman, and H. Fox Talbot, an Englishman, met in London in 1857. The trustees of the British Museum gave each a fine lithographic copy of a long historical inscription (Tiglath-pileser I, ca. 1120-1100 B. C.) and asked that he work independently and present at a specified time the results of his work. No translation of that text had been published. At the given date all ap-

peared, submitted their translations, and a commission compared the results. To the surprise and profound satisfaction of every one, their translations agreed substantially from beginning to end. The triumph was almost incredible; the victory was complete; and the whole was published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1857. This new philological achievement was the greatest ever made in the field of language or archeology. It was as great a discovery in the field of ancient philology and history as that of the telegraph or telephone in the commercial world.

42. A New Babylonian. This is no exaggeration. Before this achievement the Babylonian-Assyrian valley was merely a cemetery of vanished nations, covered with tombs of ancient cities and towers, whose identities even were mere matters of conjecture. The relations of those nations to other peoples and lands were also conjectured from hints here and there, and especially from the representations of the Old Testament. But this linguistic achievement of scholars transformed the view, lifted and dissipated the fog, and opened to our vision a valley full of thrifty cities, well-organized governments, victorious armies, and world rulers. This triumph made the Babylonian-Assyrian valley one of the most dramatic areas on the earth's surface wherein the fortunes of many peoples great and small were made and lost.

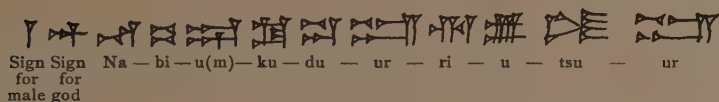
43. Assyriologists. The magnitude of that discovery is increasing with every decade. Scholars who translate the cuneiform languages are now found in nearly every enlightened country, and special chairs for them have been established both in European and Ameri-

can universities. The science has been subdivided into several branches, which are now carried on by Assyriological specialists in history, philology, religion, and the like. Many of these scholars, especially in American universities, are so burdened with work in more practical lines of teaching that they can contribute a very small part to the advancement of this new and far-reaching science. Would that men of means could be found who would provide a foundation for cuneiform scholars, who are willing and anxious to contribute their entire time to investigation and laboratory methods in the study of these languages of old Babylonia! in some respects as important as the work done in chemical or physical laboratories.

44. Character of Language. The language in which the most of the material discovered in the Euphrates-Tigris valley is preserved is the Babylonian-Assyrian cuneiform, or wedge-writing. This language has no alphabet. It has no letters. It is a sign and syllable language. Each separate wedge or combination of wedges constitutes a sign. These are always pressed *into* clay, or cut *into* stone or metal. They never appear in relief. These signs possessed originally, and some of them did in later times, merely an ideographic value; that is, the sign stood for an idea, as sun, mountain, man, fish, and the like. They also have, most of them, a syllabic value, as *ba*, *da*, *ra*, *lak*, *pin*, *rid*, *shad*, and the like. A large number have several syllabic values, one or two of them having as many as thirteen. The context only can determine the value to be used in any given case. Then, to complicate matters still more, the same sign may have both an ideographic and a syllabic value. Which value

is to be used in any given case is fixed by the context in which the sign is found. Of independent and entirely distinct signs there are more than 600, formed by combinations of anywhere from two to thirty wedges, paralleled, crossing each other at various angles, or inserted within certain combinations. Now, to increase the difficulty a thousandfold, there are almost endless combinations of anywhere from two to six of these different signs to express simple or compound ideas. There is one published collection that contains nearly 15,000 combinations.

To illustrate the appearance of such signs, I here insert the Babylonian signs for Nebuchadrezzar, with the syllabic reading of each sign :



Nabu—kudurri—utsur (“Nebo protect the boundary.”)
Nebuchadrezzar.

The Babylonian-Assyrian cuneiform language belongs to the Semitic group of languages, a half-sister to the Hebrew of the Old Testament. Its relation to the Hebrew is nearly as close as that between German and Dutch. Other languages of the same group of tongues are Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic.

The excavations of the last seventy-five years have brought to light great libraries of cuneiform literature, some of it found outside of Babylonia, in Asia Minor, Egypt, and Palestine. The museums of Europe and America today embody

45. Mass of Literature.

more than ten times as much cuneiform literature as there is of Hebrew literature contained in the Old Testament. Not more than one-half of that found has been published. The largest collections are those in the British Museum in London, the Royal Museum in Berlin, the Louvre in Paris, and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

Furthermore, the period of time covered by these documents is just as surprising as the compass of literature found in them. They date from prehistoric (that is, undated times), or about 4000 B. C., down through periods prior to, contemporary with, and subsequent to, the Old Testament. They touch the peoples of southwestern Asia from the dawn of history in that valley to the last century before the Christian era. And they embody history, philology, laws, magic, necromancy, medicine, and letters.

One of the most tangled-up questions of the
46. Chron- Old Testament is that of its chronology.
ology of Old
Testament. We are doubtless aware that the marginal
dates of our English Bibles (A. V.) were
made up by Archbishop Usher of Armagh (1580-1656),
and not inserted in the margins of the Bible until 1701
A. D. It is conceded by all scholars that this system,
though carefully wrought out, and as good as could be
constructed at that date, is now, in view of the many con-
tributions of discovery in Babylonia-Assyria, incredible.

The available data for constructing a reasonable
chronology of the Old Testament may be found in the
following: (1) Ptolemy an Egyptian astronomer of the
second century A. D., left us a list of the kings of Egypt,
Persia, and Babylonia down to the accession of Nabonas-

sar, 747 B. C., arranged by the use of astronomical calculations; and these have some real value. (2) Cuneiform literature contains lists of years and chief events kept by Assyrian kings, which are named "Eponym Lists," that is, each year is named after some person, king, or officer. These lists remain practically unbroken from 893 to 666 B. C., and for a part of that stretch of time parallel the list of Ptolemy. In such instances the two lists are in substantial agreement. An eclipse of the sun which occurred at Nineveh in the month Sivan (May-June) 763 B. C., has been verified by the calculations of modern astronomers. This then gives us a fixed basis for the chronology of the Old Testament within the years of these lists. (3) Assyrian and Babylonian rulers occasionally made calculations of their own regarding the dates of previous events or rulers, and incorporated them in their records, or in the corner-stone of some notable building. While some of these have a semblance of accuracy they must be used with caution and reservation as must so many other figures that have reached us from those early days. The credence that has been attached to such native statements has been largely shattered by the revolt of scholars against what was recorded by Nabonidus, king of Babylon, 558-538 B. C. He states that he found, when he repaired the temple of Sippar, the platform or terrace of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, which no one had seen for 3,200 years. Nabonidus said this about 550 B. C.; add to 3,200 years his own 550 years B. C., and the year of Naram-Sin would be 3750 B. C. This date is frankly rejected by all Assyriologists as at least from 1,000 to 1,100 years too long. Therefore, I say we must

suspect or reject such native calculations without some corroborative evidence of their truth. Dates earlier than 893 B. C. in Babylonia-Assyria must be accepted with caution and reserve. Those of the Old Testament may be calculated on the basis of Babylonian-Assyrian lists with credible accuracy back to the beginnings of the Hebrew monarchy.

**47. First
Races in
Babylonia.**

An outline history of the Babylonians-Assyrians must be preceded by a period of pre-historic times, when the country was occupied by diverse peoples, who either migrated from the lands about the Persian Gulf, especially Arabia, or from the mountains bordering the valley. The earliest civilization and cities seem to have taken root in the lower or southern end of the valley. Whether these cities were centers of tribes or colonies, they, at least, constituted city-states, each with its ruler and its god. The Sumerians arrived in this region before the beginning of written history. They used a language which was neither Semitic nor Indo-European. It has some affinities with Turkish and Finnish, but is neither. They occupied all lower Babylonia and as far north as Kish and introduced their worship, though they could not eradicate the Semitic deities of the conquered cities. At first they used a hieroglyphic system of writing which gradually passed through lines to a wedge-writing. The Semites who had settled in northern Babylonia in Kish and Agade, may have taken over this system of writing and adapted it to write their own language; at least the cuneiform script of the two peoples took on the same form and embodies a few of the same or similar sounding words.

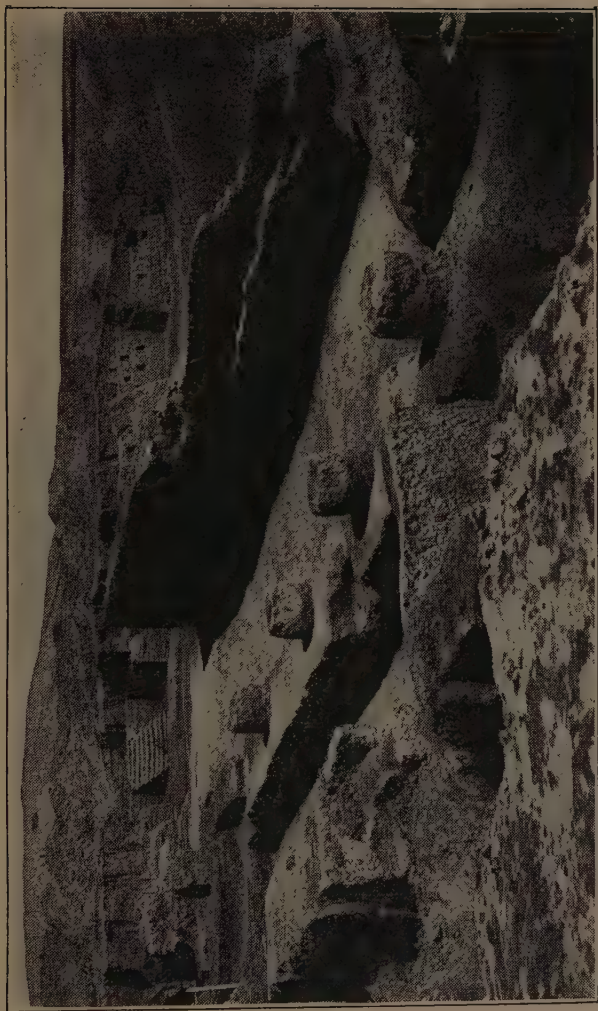


Fig. 84. Sumerian Palace Uncovered at Kish

The Field Museum-Oxford University expedition here discovered a Sumerian palace of the kings of Kish, estimated by excavators to be "the oldest dynasty in the history of man." Notice the bases of columns and the regular walls of sun-dried bricks, newn-out steps, and platforms of large dimensions.

48. Sumerians in
Babylonia.

The Sumerian-Semitic period stretches from about 3200 B. C. down to about 2100 B. C. In this reach of time Babylonia was a motley of peoples and cities. The Semites and the Sumerians were rivals; for a time both centered at Kish

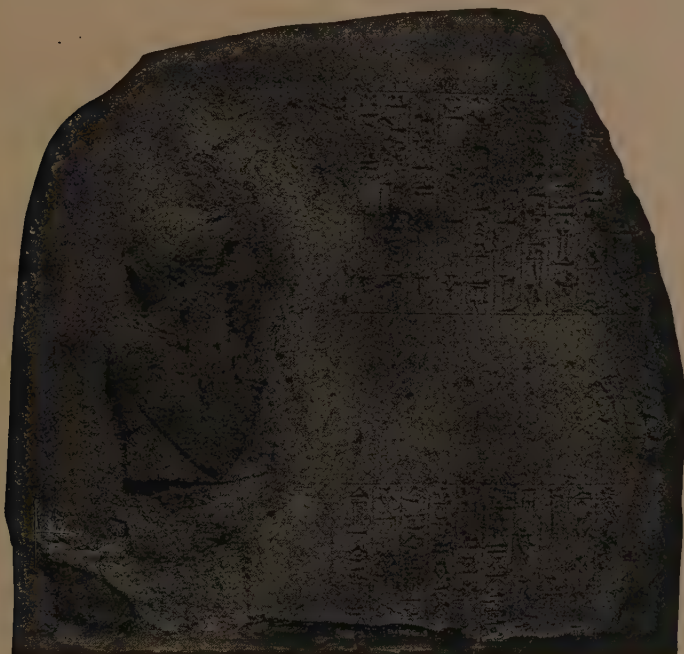


Fig. 58. Portrait of Hammurabi

Fortunate are we to find on one of his inscriptions, the portrait of the compiler of the Babylonian code of laws (§§132ff.). Best known through these laws, Hammurabi was a greater ruler and administrator than codifier of law precedents (2123-2081 B. C.).

when the Semites became masters of that center. The city-states were often compelled to unite for common defense against invaders, such as the Elamites on the south-

east. Several remarkable leaders arose in this period, who guided the destinies of the cities under their sway. Among these was Gudea, ruler of Lagash about 2450 B. C., who has left us two of the longest Sumerian inscriptions yet discovered, about which more will be said in another connection.

Through the entire 1,100 years of history of that valley's peoples, the rivalry grew more and more intense until about 2100 B. C. the Semites gained the upper hand. They secured such control of Babylonia that Hammurabi finally united the whole valley under his sway, and extended his rule to the Mediterranean Sea in the far west. Hammurabi thus became the proper founder of the First dynasty of Babylon, about 2123-2081 B. C.

**49. Ham-
murabi.**

Hammurabi was a far-sighted ruler. After a long succession of wars to secure control of the country, he pursued the ways of peace. He improved the canal system of the valley; he restored the temples of Larsa, Eridu, Lagash, Cutha, and Adab in the south, and those of Opis and Kish in the north. To his own capital Babylon he gave especial attention and then he turned to Sippar and Borsippa, near neighbors to Babylon. Ashur and Nineveh in the northeast were not neglected.

Hammurabi sought to cement a union between the Semitic and non-Semitic elements of which he was now overlord. Religious liberty was allowed the old Sumerian centers of worship, although their political independence was gone. The official languages were Sumerian and Semitic (Akkadian). Some documents were written in both languages in parallel columns.

But for us in this day, Hammurabi's crowning contribution was his codification and publication of the laws current in his time as a basis for legal procedure and decisions. In his entire career he seems to have been exceptionally emphatic in dealing out justice to all offenders. The final work may have been a kind of precipitate of his established policy throughout his reign. This now famous code, found at Susa in 1901, contains many laws similar to and some almost identical with some of the laws of the Pentateuch. But more about these further on.

The death of Hammurabi was a silent signal to dissatisfied would-be rulers. Revolts took place and the Sea-lands (Persian Gulf) peoples seized the government and became the Second dynasty of Babylon. The Hittites (in 1924 B. C.) invaded the Euphrates valley from the northwest but were later driven back by the Sea-lands rulers.

Somewhere about 1750 B. C. a foreign people, the Kassites from the mountains east of the Tigris, swept down into the rich country and ultimately captured the whole of it, and held all or part of it for 576 years. The old colonies which had settled on the upper Tigris, at Ashur and Nineveh, about 2500 B. C., secured their independence from the Kassites about 1430 B. C. The history of Assyria and Babylonia henceforth ran in parallel lines down nearly to the close of the seventh century B. C. Babylonia went through flood, fire, and sword during the Kassite dynasty. Elam invaded her about 1200 B. C. and carried off untold treasures to Susa, among them from the temple of Marduk in Babylon the column on which

the code of Hammurabi had been chiseled about 2100 B. C. But the Kassite dynasty was overthrown about 1175 B. C. and succeeded by the Isin dynasty which ruled about 130 years. Its most notable king was Nebuchadrezzar I of about 1150 B. C. This Fourth dynasty was wiped out by a plundering and devastating invasion of the Elamites. Henceforth Babylonia was rarely more than a tributary for practically 450 years.

51. Assyria's Beginnings. Assyria's beginnings are enveloped in mystery. Ashur was a center of a colony soon after 3000 B. C. But no political importance was attached to it for the next 1,000 years. It had rulers or governors who first secured independence about 1430 B. C. as we have already seen. Somewhere about 1300 Shalmaneser I drove a campaign westward across the Euphrates river. His son conquered Babylon and ruled it for seven years. After a time the great Tiglath-pileser I brought power and prestige to Assyria by carrying his arms westward to the Mediterranean Sea, and north to Lake Van. His death meant a decline of Assyria's power, for his successors lacked his vigor.

52. Assyria's Supremacy. With short intervals of weakness and almost disaster, the Assyrians centered on the upper Tigris River, and were the dominant rulers of southwestern Asia from about the ninth century (884-626 B. C.) down to the end of the reign of the last great king of Assyria, or about 250 years. This long list of monarchs carries in it several names who came in touch with the kings of Judah and Israel, and who mention the Hebrews in their inscriptions. The details of such relationships will be taken up in later chapters.

In this era of Assyrian sway the first king who extended his boundaries north and west to the Mediterranean Sea was Ashurnatsirpal (884-860 B. C.). He was almost invincible, fiercely cruel, and boasted of his inhumanity toward his subjects. He opened the way to the west in such manner as to allow his son and successor Shalmaneser III (860-825 B. C.) to reach the Hebrews. On his first drive into the west in 854 B. C., Shalmaneser was met at Karkar by a coalition of twelve kings with their armies, among whom we discover Ahab of Israel and Ben-hadad of Damascus. Twelve years later, 842 B. C., Shalmaneser made his fourth drive and received the tribute of Jehu, king of Israel, thus indicating the subjection of Israel to the yoke of Assyria.

Assyria's power was supreme under the next two kings down to 783 B. C. Their tribute lists include the names of Israel, Edom, and Philistia. Not until 745 B. C. do we find an aggressive dominating king at the head of the government, in the person of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.), a general and usurper. His popular name was Pul, which he discarded when he became king, and used the high-sounding name of the great king of the twelfth century (cf. 2 Kings 15 : 19). His campaigns extended his boundaries northward, eastward, and southward, annexing Babylon as a mere province of Assyria. Babylon's independence during some earlier reigns was negligible as a political factor. At this time Tiglath-pileser left no doubt as to the real ruler of this old land. In two of his campaigns into the west he received the submission of both kingdoms of Israel, and captured Damascus (732 B. C.). He gives in his annals the names of Menahem,

Pekah, and Hoshea of the northern kingdom, and Ahaz of the southern kingdom—four kings of the Old Testament. His one great contribution to Assyrian policy was the transportation of populations from one country to another to stabilize government.

Tiglath-pileser's successor was Shalmaneser V (727-722 B. C.), whose career has not been discovered in any permanent record. During Shalmaneser's reign Hoshea coquetted with Egypt and other peoples of the west until he seemed to find enough assurance to warrant his revolt against the authority of Assyria. Samaria was besieged, and Hoshea was seized and deported. An able general and king, Sargon II (722-705 B. C.), completed the siege, captured the capital, and deported 27,290 of its population into other countries, and thus wiped out the northern kingdom. Sargon's campaigns were waged with energy and generally with success. In 719 he charged westward across Palestine and dealt the Egyptians a staggering blow at Raphia southwest of Philistia. In 717 B. C. he assaulted and captured Carchemish the Hittite headquarters on the upper Euphrates; and in 711 brought the rebellious Ashdod to its knees. That troublesome thorn in the side of Assyria, Merodach-baladan, was driven out of Babylon in 709 B. C., and Sargon became the ruler of that old realm. It was this Sargon who built Khorsabad, the palace northeast of Nineveh, which was uncovered by Botta (§30; Figs. 131-4).

Sargon was mysteriously slain in eastern border wars in 705, and Sennacherib his son was declared king (705-681 B. C.). The one great expedition which we can notice here, occurred in 701 B. C. The western peoples

including Judah became restive and refused to forward their regular annual tribute to the coffers of Nineveh. Sennacherib mobilized his army, drove westward to the Mediterranean Sea, attacked Phœnicia, and swept down the coast to Philistia. Here he took one Philistine capital after another, and assaulted Jerusalem by a demand for surrender. In the meantime, the Egyptian army, which had made an alliance with these small peoples, came to their rescue. At Eltekeh on the edge of the Philistine country, Sennacherib met and defeated these Egyptian allies and turned their faces westward to the Nile. Hezekiah, though not defeated in battle, was humiliated and compelled to pay tribute to Assyria. Sennacherib mysteriously left this Westland and never returned. His revengeful destruction of Babylon and wars with Elam occupied a large place in his remaining twenty years of rule. He was assassinated in 681 B. C. and was succeeded on the throne by Esarhaddon (681-668 B. C.). More humane and large-hearted than his father, Esarhaddon rebuilt the city of Babylon. In 670 B. C. he pushed the western boundary of Assyria over into Egypt and made Lower Egypt a province of his domain. Manasseh of Judah is named in a list of his tribute-paying kings.

Esarhaddon's son and successor was Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.). He carried Assyrian arms farther than any predecessor. In 662 B. C. he subdued Egypt as far as Thebes and subjected it to a pitiless plunder. Forced to release his hold on the land of the Nile, he spent the remainder of his years in activities in the east. His notable contribution to letters was the collection of a vast library of cuneiform literature in his palace at Nineveh.

Manasseh of Judah well knew the demands of the Assyrian kings, for he paid tribute to both Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. With the death of this monarch, Assyria rapidly declined through the fall of Nineveh in 612 B. C. and the wiping out of its remaining army by Nebuchadrezzar II at Carchemish in 605 B. C.

53. New Babylonia. As Assyria was passing, Babylonia, her former subject, acquired her independence under Nabopolassar the viceroy, who was a Chaldean (625-605 B. C.). His power gradually increased until in 612 B. C. he participated in the overthrow of Assyria's eastern capital, Nineveh; and his son Nebuchadrezzar II led in the final crushing of her power at Carchemish about 605 B. C. That gave this new Babylonian kingdom control of all Babylonia, and of southwestern Asia. Nebuchadrezzar II, son and successor of Nabopolassar, was the star king of Babylonia, ruling until 562 B. C. His contact with Judah, with the captivity of Israel, with the exiles in Babylonia, with the remnant in Palestine, give him a unique place in the Old Testament. Then his power as an executive, as a builder, as a religionist, as a world-ruler, gives him a central place in the galaxy of Babylonian kings. At his death, his kingdom went into a decline, and gradually lost its grip, until in 538 B. C., Cyrus, the Elamite-Persian, took Babylon without a blow and supplanted Nabonidus, the last Semitic ruler of Babylonia.

54. Persia. The advent of Persia into Babylonia meant the accession of a new Aryan ruler in place of the former Semites. Babylon was made one of the capitals of the Persian empire in southwestern Asia.

On Cyrus' order all political and religious discontents were permitted to return to their homelands. His liberal policy gave the Jews their opportunity, and some of them improved it by returning to Palestine. The close relationships between the Persian kings and the Jews down to the coming of Alexander the Great in 331 adds a new interest to the character, the policies, and the governmental methods of these overlords, details of which will be taken up in a later discussion.

55. Alexander the Great.

The invincible phalanxes of Alexander the Great introduced into Asia a new language, a new literature, a new religion, and a new spirit. The dominating purpose of the conqueror was to extend Greek civilization with all its characteristics throughout the entire territory which had yielded to his arms. This was accomplished through the above-mentioned means, through intermarriage with the local population, in other words, through an attempt to transform these Eastern peoples into Greeks. The Jews felt the impact of all this invasion and were put to the test by the insistence and compulsion of the Greek underlings and successors of their great leader, who had died June, 323 B. C. The liberal policies of Cyrus and his successors had vanished, and the liberties allowed by Alexander did not suit the jealous-minded Greek kings of his divided realm. The Maccabean wars and the persecutions of their promoters brought out some of the finest qualities of the Jewish mind and heart when they were forced to face the cruelest tragedies in all the history of the Jews, which has been so often remarkable for endurance under oppression.

Details of the various kinds of light thrown on the Old Testament by the finds in Babylonia-Assyria will be given as we survey the contacts between the stories in the two bodies of literature.

NOTE ON FIG. 147, tail-piece below: These Sumerian heads of statues were found by the French in the central court of Gudea's palace, hence dating from about 2450 B. C. They are of dolorite stone out of which were constructed the famous headless statues in the same court (§§47, 48). They represent the non-Semitic Sumerians who were dominant in central Babylonia in that period.





CHAPTER V

THE HITTITES AND THE PHŒNICIANS

56. Hittites in Old Testament.

Next to Egypt, Babylonia-Assyria, and their succeeding powers, we must take a look at the Hittites. Their presence in the Old Testament is mentioned in Abraham's day (Gen. 23 : 10 and oft.). His purchase of a cave for a burial-

NOTE ON FIG. 68, head-piece above: The hardy Hittites of Asia Minor always impress one with strength, vigor, and aggressiveness. The remarkable face and head of this man, with his primitive pigtail, bespeaks simplicity of life and such that race displayed for about 700 years in southwestern Asia and possibly Egypt (§57). The larger portrait of which this is a part shows him on his knees with a rope tied about his neck, part of which can be seen here.

place was from Ephron the Hittite; and Esau took two wives, daughters of Hittites (Gen. 36 : 1). Among the native tribes in Canaan to be overcome by the invading Israelites were the Hittites. Incidental references to the same peoples are picked up now and then throughout the Old Testament. One of David's trusted warriors was.

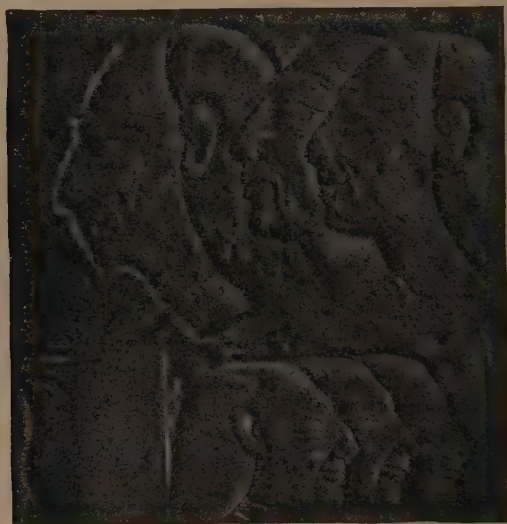


Fig. 69. A Portrait of Hittites

The common order of Hittite warriors, as represented by Egyptian artists, are not greatly different from the profile of the Armenian of today. The curvature of their faces with distinctly aquiline noses, would almost classify the Armenians as descendants of the pre-Christian century Hittites (§56).

Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam. 11). The evident reference in 1 Kings 10 : 29 and in 2 Kings 7 : 6 is to the martial reputation of that powerful nation of Asia Minor. Contemporaneous annals in Egypt and Assyria picture the aggressive warfare of the Hittite kings and people. The

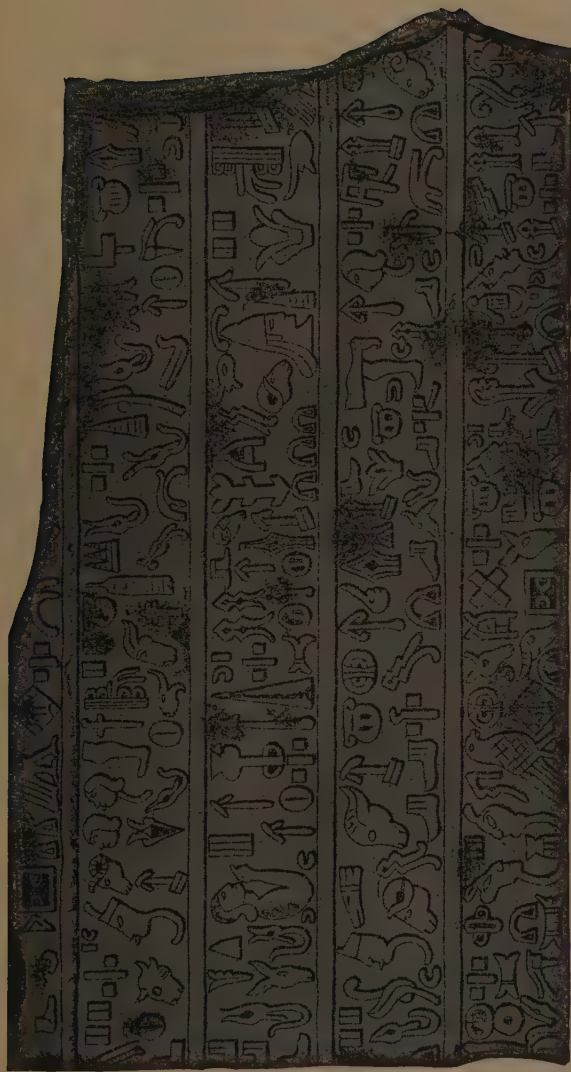


Fig. 65. A Hittite Inscription from Carchemish

The earliest Hittite writing was prepared with such figures as you see above, to be read alternately from right to left, and left to right, that is, in boustrophedon style. Notice that the faces in the first full register all look to the left, those in the second register look to the right, and so on. This was found at Carchemish on the Euphrates (Fig. 30). In later centuries, the Hittites discarded their hieroglyphs except for monuments, and employed the cuneiform script of Babylonia to make their records (§56A).

portraits made by Egyptian artists picture to us the strength of physique and character of these stalwart mountaineers of Asia Minor and Syria. Ramses II of Egypt almost met defeat in the famous battle with them at Kadesh on the Orontes, 1287 B. C. Their strength, prowess, and aggressiveness made them a people to be feared by every foe, through a period of about 700 years.

56A. Hittite Remains. The remains of their civilization have been seen and brought to light at many points in Asia Minor and Syria. Carchemish, Sinjerli, Hamath, points in Cappadocia, and in western Asia Minor have preserved for us some remarkable evidences of the greatness of that people. References to them are probably made in the Tell el-Amarna letters where Tushratta of Mitanni is several times mentioned. Scattered remains have been seen at several points in Asia Minor for the last half-century. Excavations, however, have made some valuable contributions to the material already known and charted.

A German expedition under Von Luschan excavated at Sinjerli not far from the site of old Antioch in 1889-91. Many distinctly Hittite sculptures, and some Aramaic inscriptions of the times of Tiglath-pileser III and Esarhaddon were brought to light, though the material found points to Hittite occupancy at a much earlier date.

Boghaz-Keui in Asia Minor had been designated on account of Hittite buildings, sculptures, and ornaments, by a number of travelers as an earlier Hittite center. But not until 1906 was its treasure-house of inscriptions uncovered by Professor Hugo Winckler of Berlin. These clay tablets were written in cuneiform characters; even

some of those in the Hittite language were in the same script. Among the Babylonian tablets one contained a copy of the famous treaty between a Hittite king, Hattushilish, and Ramses II of Egypt. Winckler's lingering illness and premature death greatly delayed the publication of these important finds. The architectural legacies of these finds were published in Leipzig, in a sumptuous volume entitled *Boghasköi: die Bauwerke* (1912).

In 1907-09 Cornell University sent Messrs. Charles, Olmstead, and Wrench to Asia Minor to investigate Hittite remains. In 1910 they conducted excavations at *Sakje-Geuze* near Sinjerli. Some of their results are published under the title *Travels and Studies in the Nearer East* (1911).

Carchemish on the upper Euphrates was selected by the British Museum as a site for promising excavations. In 1911, under the leadership of C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, they began work and carried on until the outbreak of the World War, and succeeded in revealing immense quantities of Hittite remains. The results of this expedition are reported in a work entitled *Carchemish*, London (1914, 1921). Enough has been done in the adjacent regions to show that this was a Hittite country, and that it extended nearly to the limits of Asia Minor west of the Euphrates.

57. Hittite History. Among the Hittite remains found and excavated at the several points named above and other places, are many inscriptions appearing in part in hieroglyphic script. No "Rosetta Stone" or "Behistun Rock" has been as yet brought to light as a key to the Hittite tongue. Professor Sayce of Oxford,

who early discerned the problem before scholars, has been a pioneer in attempts to translate the language. Since 1880 he has vigorously pursued every avenue to that end. Others who have added their mites to this end are P. Jensen, R. E. Brünnow, F. E. Peiser, C. R. Conder, A. T. Clay, and R. C. Thompson, either in books, articles,



Fig. 67. Hittite Types

These are soldiers armed for the fray, with their simple equipment, and their distinctly forward look, and aggressive movements (§58). Their peculiar weapons of offense and defense always mark them off by themselves.

or notes on the Hittite problem. Several solutions have been proposed by some of these men, but up to the present no one of them has taken root in the scholarly world. Thompson, who was one of the group of scholars engaged at the diggings at Carchemish, seems to have contributed some substantial items toward the reading of the lan-

guage. The late Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch of Berlin, who worked over the material found by Winckler in Boghaz-Keui, found twenty-six fragments of lexicographical text which in a publication in May, 1914, he combined in such a way as to form a vocabulary of 165 Hittite words. The meanings of most of these words are known through their accompanying definitions in Sumerian and Assyrian words. About a dozen volumes of texts found at Boghaz-Keui have been published through the activity of Messrs. Weidner, Figulla, Forrer, Weber, and Hrozný. These are now available for scholars in this field and are being energetically studied, especially by F. Hrozný, Professor in the Czech University at Prague in Czechoslovakia, who has already made some distinctive contributions to the problem.

**58. Age of
Hittite
Civilization.**

The antiquity of Hittite civilization is not fixed. The Cornell University excavations at Sakje-Geuze seem to have uncovered a civilization dating from about 3000 B. C., which may have been pre-Hittite. Woolley thinks the results of the Carchemish diggings show that the Indo-Europeans had settled in that region about 2000 B. C. The earliest known inscription that refers to the Hittites is a Babylonian chronicle which says, "Against Shamsu-ditana the men of the country of Khattu marched."¹ This king was the last one of the First dynasty of Babylon, and his rule ceased 1924 B. C. Khattu land was a part of Cappadocia occupied by Hittites. These may have been part of the invaders who swept into Babylonia

¹ King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, London, 1907, Vol. II, 22.

from the northwest at the collapse of the first dynasty of Babylon.

The aggressive character of these mountaineers, some historians think, may have carried them into Egypt, where



Fig. 66. A Sculpture of a Hittite King

The Hittite sculptors carved in stone the forms and expressions of their own people. These show a marked difference from the wall paintings and carvings of their Egyptian victors. Notice their peculiar head-dress, their garments for action and their weapons for close-at-hand encounters.

they were known as Hyksos, or they may have been the leaders of an army of Semites. All this, however, is as yet conjecture. So far as we can penetrate into this early

era, we find no one consolidated Hittite government which could carry everything before its arms. They occupied several centers as Boghaz-Keui, Carchemish, Mitanni east of the upper Euphrates, Hamath, and smaller places. It may be that in emergencies they would mobilize all their strength and meet a common foe.

One of the transition periods of Hittite history was that in which Thutmose IV (1420-1411 B. C.) of Egypt and Artatama I of Mitanni made an alliance, possibly, think some, against the Boghaz-Keui government. This political alliance led to marriages between these allies, and finally through Amenhotep III and the IV, the now famous Ikhnaton, the half-Asiatic king of Egypt who turned to the religion of his Asiatic mother.

The successive campaigns of the Hittites of Boghaz-Keui and Khatti both showed the power of this people and threatened the peace and independence of the nations who were their neighbors. From 1400 B. C. the Hittite monarchy became alarmingly in evidence. When the Tell el-Amarna letters were sent from Syria to Egypt (1400-1350 B. C.) the disturbances in some of the districts were doubtless due to Hittite incursions into that country.

Seti I of the Nineteenth dynasty of Egypt began to rule 1313 B. C., and to push his boundaries back into Asia as his Eighteenth dynasty predecessors had done. He soon clashed with the Hittites who checked his advance. In 1292 B. C. Ramses II succeeded Seti I on the throne and tried his strength in Asia. Mutallu, king of the Hittites, summoned Hittite troops from all Hittite realms, even the most western districts. In 1287 B. C. the two great

armies, Hittite and Egyptian, met at Kadesh on the Orontes. The Hittites outgeneraled the Egyptians, broke up part of their formations, and almost captured Ramses himself. By the fortunate arrival of recruits the king of Egypt was extricated, and the struggle ended in a drawn battle. But the Hittites were horribly cut up. They lost many leaders, and some of their companies mutinied. Even Mutallu the commander-in-chief was assassinated. Sixteen years later the then Hittite king, Hattushilish II, made with Ramses II an offensive and defensive alliance—the first international treaty whose text has come down to us with all its remarkable details. This treaty was evidently effective to the end of the reigns of its makers. But both the Egyptians and the Hittites degenerated as powers, and the next century leaves no great national movements on record.

The several Hittite centers already named continued as such. Carchemish occupied a strategic position and had a checkered career; but its importance as a Hittite city seems to have passed with the terrific blow dealt it by Sargon II in 717 B. C. Von Luschan's successful excavations at Sinjerli reveal the influence and power of the Aramæans who had pushed up into that country somewhere about 1300 B. C. While the sculptures and architecture are Hittite, the inscriptions are Aramaic. In Syria, too, these Hittites are thought to have had a center at Hamath, where Toi its king was quite ready to make an alliance with King David of Israel. In the next few centuries the Aramæans with two or three centers in upper Syria occupied all this territory, and the Hittites disappear from the map.

When the mass of Boghaz-Keui inscriptions shall have been fully translated and interpreted, we shall be better able to localize and visualize the Hittite states and centers



Fig. 157. Teshub, the Hittite Weather God

Armed with forked lightning in his left hand, and a hammer in his right hand with which to peal out thunder, and a dagger in his belt Teshub strides forth like Adad in Babylonia in the service of his admiring devotees (§58).

of Asia Minor, and to follow chronologically their growth and movements during the seven hundred years in which they were a dominant power in that region.

**59. Phœnicia
on the Sea.**

One of the fascinating peoples of Old Testament times was the Phœnicians. A nation that could build up Tyre and Sidon to such commercial and maritime proportions deserves some special consideration. They occupied merely a narrow strip of coast-land between the Lebanon mountain range and the Mediterranean Sea, from one to ten miles in width, and about 180 miles in length north and south. So limited was their arable land that they were obliged to put to sea to earn a livelihood. This they did with such industry and skill that by 1500 B. C. they were becoming accomplished sailors, as we learn from Egyptian sources. By the middle of the twelfth century, B. C., they took the lead and outranked all the other peoples in the methods and extent of their shipping. When Solomon wished to equip a fleet to go to sea, he employed Phœnician sailors, whose experience fitted them for their task (1 Kings 9 : 26, 27). When Sennacherib, king of Assyria, required a fleet to cross the Persian Gulf to attack the Elamites, he sent for Phœnicians to construct and man his vessels. Their maritime supremacy on the Mediterranean Sea continued until the advent of the Greek galleys, about the sixth century B. C.

**60. Phœni-
cia's Trade.**

Phœnicia's commercial activities covered sea and land. Their ships sailed to far ports on the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea, and through the pillars of Hercules into the Atlantic Ocean. Their wares and dye-stuffs manufactured in Tyre and Sidon were carried to the farthest limits of their journeyings and traded for cereals, clothing, metals, flocks, and precious stones. On land they made every available

people their customers and traders. Ezekiel, Chapter 27, gives us the most comprehensive view of Phœnicia's commercial enterprise on sea and land in any early record. This thoroughly organized traffic brought them in contact with all civilized peoples of their day. Among these patrons of their trade were the Hebrews in Palestine—comparatively a little people of the earth. But the alert Phœnician kings passed by no small sources of revenue. When David built his palace in Jerusalem, Hiram king of Tyre sent cedar-trees, and carpenters and masons (2 Sam. 5 : 11). On Solomon's accession to the throne Hiram did not neglect to show his friendship to Israel's new king (1 Kings 5 : 1). After an exchange of letters, these two rulers made a league with each other, Hiram to supply Solomon with cedar and fir timber and stones for his buildings, and Solomon to pay for them with wheat and oil (1 Kings 5 : 2-18). In other words, the Phœnicians and Israelites made a reciprocity treaty touching commercial transactions, which was doubtless of mutual benefit to them.

**61. Moral
Influence
on Israel.** These commercial transactions between the two kings brought these two peoples into cordial relations. This same good feeling and familiarity soon led to tradings between individuals. Commercial intimacy quickly led to an exchange of customs, manners, and religious convictions. Amicable relations between the royal families resulted in marriages as in the case of Ahab and Jezebel. The appeal of the religious rites of the Phœnicians had been for long years alluring to the Hebrews. Jezebel apparently met no insuperable obstacle to the promulgation of Phœnician



Fig. 164. Fishing-nets at Tyre, Today

This once proud city is an unimportant town of about 6,000 inhabitants, who make their living by shipping, fishing, trading, and begging. On the wreckage of pillars and columns of ancient glory (\$60) they daily spread their nets to dry, carrying out the prophet's forecast (Ezek. 26 : 14).

religion in her realm. In fact, the growth of Phœnician sacred rites in the soil of the Hebrews startled the prophets and paralyzed the old religious life of many Israelites. It not only captured the devotion of the northern kingdom, but penetrated the royal house of Judah in Jerusalem. These religious importations from

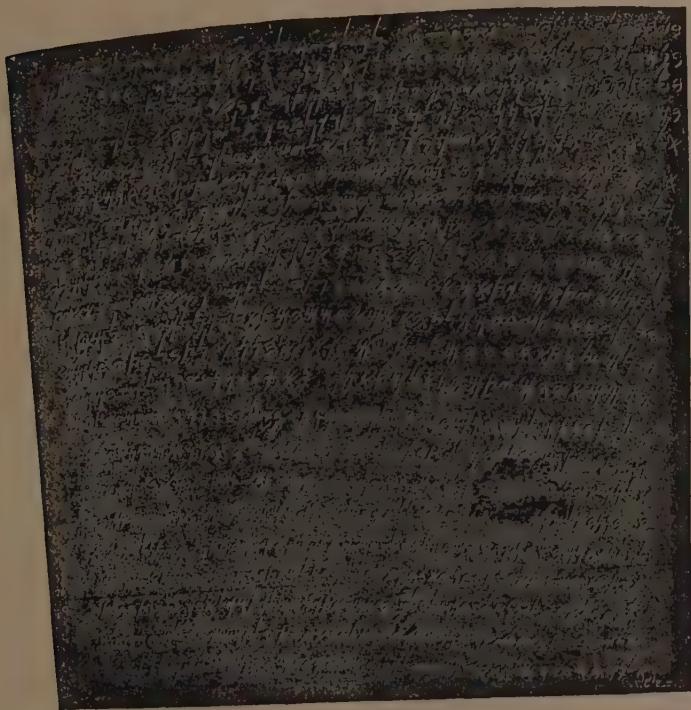


Fig. 115. A Phœnician Inscription of Eshmunazar II

A beautifully written inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar II, king of the Sidonians just before 400 B. C. The inscription adjures every prince and man not to open his "bed," nor look for treasures, for no treasures are there; not to build any other structure on top of this one, nor to disturb it in any way. His virtue was that he built the houses of the gods, of Baal and Ashtoreth (§62).

the regions of Tyre and Sidon contributed a large element to the moral and religious decline of the Hebrew nation.

62. Exploration in Phœnicia. Exploration and excavation on the ancient sites of Tyre, Sidon, and adjacent territory have been insignificant. In 1860 the

Emperor of France sent Ernest Renan, the noted French scholar and author, to explore Syria and Phœnicia. He found a few monuments of interest. At Marathus on the coast of Phœnicia he discovered a mysterious ruin of a temple. The plan was cut into the solid rock, 192 feet long by 160 feet broad. In the middle of this area there was left a portion of the natural rock, 20 feet square by 10 feet high. On the top of this cubical mass there had been built, of separate stones, a small shrine 15 feet by 12 feet, and 14 feet high. The walls were made of three layers of dressed stone, and the roof of a single slab. The only external ornament was a fillet and cornice on the four sides of the roof. No steps or stairs led up into this chamber, and one cannot see how it could be entered. It is thought that it originally contained an image of a deity before whom worshipers in the court below prostrated themselves. Renan discovered two similar shrines in the same neighborhood.

The most spacious Phœnician temple yet discovered was at Paphos in the Isle of Cyprus. General di Cesnola found there ruins that reveal a double peribolus, both oblong squares, the larger 700 feet by 630 feet, the small or inner 224 feet by 165 feet. Both were built of colossal stones, some of which measured 16 feet by 8 feet, and they had not been found on that island, but were imported either from Egypt or Cilicia in Asia Minor.



Fig. 165. Wreckage among the Coral Reefs of Tyre

The most pathetic sight about Tyre is the great quantity of drums of marble and granite columns of ancient splendor that lie in all manner of positions among the coral reefs that protect the town from the sea on the west side. Beaten and pounded by the waves through all the centuries, they are still silent witnesses to the achievements and renown that was (Ezek. 26 : 12) and the awful fate that overtook that city.

The next interesting monuments that recall ancient days are the tombs. Renan discovered one behind Aradus on the Phœnician coast that he declares to be "a real masterpiece in respect of proportion, elegance, and majesty." It was a great mausoleum constructed out of huge blocks of stone and flanked by lions, and belonged to a very early period.

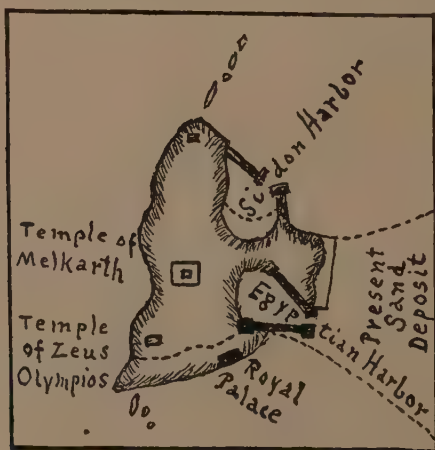
But surpassing all other remains in interest thus far found, is the large number of images of Baal and Astarte discovered on the Isle of Cyprus. To look upon these figures is to understand the reason for Israel's rapid defection from the worship of the true God. They are symbols of the most degrading forms of worship, and are designed to lead their devotees to an abandoned life. The word mistranslated "*groves*" in the A. V. of the Old Testament is descriptive of this species of worship, which was so often conducted under shady trees, and which by its deeds of darkness carried Israel over the falls to destruction.

Since Renan's day the ruins of this ancient people have scarcely been disturbed, except by individuals in clandestine operations. The sarcophagus of Alexander, the Eshmunazar inscription, and a few minor finds are all that we have up to the present to point out the importance of Phœnicia in the world of that day, and its part in the subsequent career of the Hebrew nation.

63. Phœnician History Unwritten. The history of Phœnicia remains to be written. It figures among contemporaneous peoples from about 1500 B.C. to the end of the Old Testament. No extensive native sources of its history are available. Its few fragmentary

sources are the merest specks on the great canvass of their long past. By an ingenious piecing-out of Egyptian, Babylonian, Hittite, Hebrew, Assyrian, and Greek annals we might ultimately acquire an idea of the greatness of the nation, but could not by any means construct a chronological articulated succession of rulers and events. Suffice it to say, the more we study their enterprise and daring, the larger the place they occupy in the group of aggressive peoples of those days.

NOTE ON MAP 13, tail-piece below: Ancient Tyre was built on an island in the eastern Mediterranean Sea, one-third of a mile from the shoreline of Phœnicia. Amply protected on nearly three sides by a series of coral reefs it was the capital and palace of Hiram, its king, the friend of David and Solomon. Its closed-in harbors made it the Phœnician center of commerce through long centuries. It defied all enemies until Alexander, in 332 B. C., built a mole from the mainland and almost wiped it out.





CHAPTER VI

PALESTINE

64. Its Names.

The country which the Hebrews acquired as a home was known under several different names in the Old Testament. One of its earliest was "Canaan," which did not always designate the same extent of territory. It was the usual term used in the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges (Exod. 6 : 4; Deut. 32 : 49). When Joshua is said to have completed the conquest of the land (Josh. 11 : 22) it was called "the land of the children of Israel." In that chaotic

NOTE ON FIG. 42, head-piece above: The Dead Sea is the lowest well-known body of water on the earth (§69). It kills all life on its shores and in its waters, and is nevertheless the life of all the surrounding country through its distribution of moisture through evaporation.

period of Israel's history, the time of the judges, it was called "the country of the inheritance of Israel" (Judg. 20 : 6). After the kingdom had been well established, it was known as "the land of Israel" (2 Kings 5 : 2, 4). The Psalmist confirms what has already been said in his parallelism, "the land of Canaan, the lot of your inheritance" (Ps. 105 : 11). Hosea identifies the land with Israel's God when he names it "Jehovah's land" (Hosea 9 : 3). On Nehemiah's return from the Persian court he called it "the land of Judah" (Neh. 5 : 14). The New Testament gives it some of the names already mentioned, but refers to it in retrospect as "the land of promise" (Heb. 11 : 9).

Foreign nations had their own names for that region of the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

The name "Palestine" is not a Biblical name of the country; it is comparatively modern. It owes its origin to the Greek form of the Hebrew word for Philistine. But not until some time after the crash of the Hebrew kingdom in 586 B. C. was this term applied to the whole country now known as "Palestine"—the popular present-day name.

65. Geog- Palestine, to Bible students, is a doubly in-
raphy. teresting land. Its area on both sides the

Jordan River is about 12,000 square miles, a little less than the area of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Its size, however, varied greatly at different periods. Western Palestine proper stretched from the Litany river that empties into the Mediterranean Sea just north of Tyre, down the seacoast to the "river of Egypt" (Wady el-Arish, Gen. 15 : 18) at the southwestern boundary of



SYRIA AND
PALESTINE

170 172 174 176 178 180
Longitude from 21° Westward

34 35 36 37 38 39
Latitude from 34° Northward

the Philistine plain; thence almost directly eastward to the south end of the Dead Sea, with an average width between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan valley of forty miles. The eastern division of Palestine extended north and south practically the same length as the western, while its eastern boundary-line shaded off into the sands of the Syrian desert, including within its area the mountains of Moab, the heights of Gilead, and the plains of Bashan.

The boundaries of the promised land made known to Abram (Gen. 15 : 18), to Moses (Exod. 23 : 31), and by Moses to Israel (Num. 34 : 3-15; Deut. 1 : 7, 8) reached to the Euphrates river. The territory searched out by the spies reached "from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob, to the entrance of Hamath" (Num. 13 : 21). Joshua's optimistic forecast (Josh. 1 : 4) includes an equal area; and at the conclusion of his so-called conquest he specifies the boundary-lines (Josh. 15 : 1ff.).

The farthest limits ever acquired by Israel are found in the reign of David, and at the beginning of Solomon's administration. But these outer fringes of small and restive peoples soon slipped away from Solomon's grasp, and the land shrunk back to the lines of the territory now recognized as Palestine proper. After Israel began to feel that she was established in the land, she adopted a term to describe her north and south limits, "from Dan even to Beersheba" (Judg. 20 : 1; 1 Sam. 3 : 20; 2 Sam. 3 : 10).

Measured by degrees Palestine reached from 31° to 33° 10' north latitude, and from 52° 20' to 54° 20' east longitude.

**66. An
Isthmus.**

Palestine was strategically located in relation to the great nations of Israel's day. Egypt lay on the southwest, the Hittites on the north, and the two great powers, Babylonia and Assyria, on the northeast and east in the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. This little strip of land was a kind of isthmus between the dangerous Syrian desert on the east and the Mediterranean Sea on the west. Palestine was a highway between east and west over which traversed the commerce and the armies of the greatest civilizations of those great times. Palestine, as soon as it became politically strong, was a kind of custom-house which levied on the commodities that those great nations transported across its territory. This geographical and commercial advantage of Israel made Palestine a kind of conglomerate of the manners, customs, tongues, religions, and life of those that crossed its boundary-lines.

**67. Physiog-
raphy.**

Palestine physiographically is a part of the system that extends from the Taurus mountains up in Asia Minor, down along the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea to the terminal peaks at Sinai.

The entire tract is broken into four physiographical parallels: (1) The coast-line, (2) the backbone range, east of the coast, (3) the Jordan valley and its extensions north and south, and (4) the East Jordanic highlands.

1. The coast parallel consists of, (a) its northern natural division, Phœnicia, already described, and the ladder of Tyre, a projection of a mountain into the sea forming its southern line. (b) South thereof a flat coast runs to

Mount Carmel, which juts out into the sea. From the north foot of Carmel a narrow valley runs eastward until it spreads out into the plain of Esdraelon, a pear-shaped stretch of arable land. The east side of this plain touches the high ground about Jezreel, from which one has a view of the Jordan valley. The Carmel range is the southern limit of the second coast division. (c) South of Carmel the plain of Sharon reaches almost to Jaffa. This is the best watered and richest soil of Palestine today, where water may be found by merely a little digging. (d) Philistia, stretching from Jaffa on the south to Wady el-Arish on the southwest, was always a rich fertile country. This was the sequestered home of the Philistine peoples, whose chief cities were Ashdod, Askelon, Ekron, Gath, and Gaza, where they perpetually threatened the peace and safety of the Israelites.

2. The second physiographical parallel is the mountain backbone of the West-Jordanic region, stretching from the heights of Lebanon, 10,046 feet above the sea, down through Galilee, Ebal, Gerizim, and Hebron to the rugged peaks of Sinai. This irregular ridge has a few isolated and some connected peaks as Tabor (1,846 feet), Gilboa (1,700 feet), Ebal (3,097 feet), Gerizim (2,848 feet), Tell Asur (3,318 feet) and Hebron (about 3,000 feet).

3. The third parallel is the depression, usually named the Jordan valley, reaching from the table-land (*Beka*) between the Lebanons and Hermon, and the sources of the Jordan down through Lake Merom, the Sea of Galilee, and the Dead Sea. This long depression geologists call a "fault." The Arabs call it *Ghor*.

4. The fourth parallel begins with Mount Hermon

(9,380 feet above the sea), and spreads down over Hauran, Gilead, Moab, and the mountains of Esau. This last area is covered with evidences of volcanic origin. Extinct craters, basaltic rocks, lava formations, reddish soil are some of the marks that meet the traveler at every turn. The plains are fertile and fruitful, yielding crops under the hand of man that put to shame the poor little results of labor in Western Palestine. The mean elevation of Bashan from Mount Hermon to the brook Jarmuk is 2,000 feet. The plateau of Gilead lies next, and is famous for its forests, its fruit-trees and pastureland (Song of Sol. 6 : 5). South of Gilead comes Moab with its mountains of Abarim.

68. Rivers. The rivers of Syria-Palestine are few. They rise in the snow-capped mountains of the north, in the West-Jordanic range, and in the plateau east of the Jordan valley. The largest river in Syria is the Litany. Rising in the table-land between the Lebanons and Mount Hermon, it plunges southward down the east side of the Lebanons, makes a sharp turn westward, almost directly west of Dan (or Laish), and empties into the Mediterranean Sea just north of Tyre. The Orontes rises in the same table-land, flows northward over a more circuitous route and pours its waters into the Mediterranean near the site of old Antioch.

Out of the Anti-Lebanon range rises the Barada (Abana of the Old Testament, 2 Kings 5 : 12), which by its abundant waters, creates the oasis of Damascus. (A similarly formed oasis in the United States is that of Redlands, California.) Farther west, out of Mount Hermon, rises the *Arwaj* (Pharpar of the Old Testament, 2



Fig. 80. Jordan River Leaving the Sea of Galilee

Out of the south end of the charming Sea of Galilee flows the Jordan River; it has its origin there, and then rushes its sixty-five miles to the Dead Sea, where its only outlet is in the air overhead through evaporation only.

Kings 5 : 12), which waters the plains south of Damascus. Out of the south end of Mount Hermon bursts forth one of the great springs that form the beginnings of the Jordan river, which ultimately pours its waters into the Dead Sea. In western Palestine proper, the short river *el-Auja*, next to the Jordan in size, flows through the plain of Sharon and into the Mediterranean Sea north of Jaffa. East of the Jordan Valley, there are two streams of note flowing westward into the Jordan, the *Jarmuk* and *Zerka*, and one into the Dead Sea, the *Majib* (Arnon).

69. **Lakes and Sea.** The lakes of Palestine are all found in the great "fault" (*Ghor*), the valley of the Jordan, and are strung together on one stream. The first and nearest to the sources of this chain of lakes, is Merom (Josh. 11 : 5, 7) or *Huleh*, about three miles across each way, and seven feet above the sea, and in the middle of a fertile plain. Its waters start southward with a rush and a plunge, and fall 689 feet in a distance of eleven miles, pouring into the Sea of Galilee.

This sea is pear-shaped, the base resting on the north and the stem extending towards the south. The Old Testament name of this charming body of water was the "sea of Chinnereth" (=harp, Num. 34 : 11; Deut. 3 : 17; Josh. 13 : 27). It lies 682 feet below sea-level, measures twelve and half miles in extreme length from north to south, and eight miles in width in its widest part. Its crystal clear water is very deep, reaching at the north end 750 feet. The eastern banks are precipitous limestone cliffs, while on the west the ground slopes down to the very water's edge. In New Testament times this body of

water was so abundantly supplied with fish that fishing became a profitable industry, and supported several thriving villages on these salubrious shores (Matt. 4 : 18; Luke 5 : 6, 9; John 21 : 6, 8, 11).

The Jordan river is the only outlet of this lake (Fig. 80). It flows southward, sixty-five miles in an air-line distance, but really not far from 200 miles in its windings, and falls 610 feet in that distance. After receiving several affluents from both sides of the valley its waters are about doubled in volume, and very roily in appearance, such as would justify Naaman, the Syrian general, when he protested against dipping himself seven times in its waters to heal his leprosy (2 Kings 5 : 8-14). By careful estimate the Jordan river daily pours about six million tons of fresh water into the Dead Sea—called in the Old Testament “the salt sea” (Gen. 14 : 3; Num. 34 : 3, 12; Deut. 3 : 17), “the sea of the plain” (Deut. 3 : 17; Josh. 3 : 16; 12 : 13; 2 Kings 14 : 25); and “the eastern sea” (Ezek. 47 : 18; Joel 2 : 20). This Dead Sea is forty-seven and a half miles long and ten miles wide in its broadest place. Its surface is 1,293 feet below the level of the Mediterranean Sea, and its greatest depth is 1,310 feet, making the full depth below sea-level more than 2,600 feet—one-half mile. The southern end of the Sea where the Kyle expedition sought the remains of Sodom and Gomorrah is comparatively shallow—not more than twelve to fifteen feet deep.

The only known outlet to this enormous daily inflow from the Jordan river is through the air, evaporation. The chemical properties of this sea are astounding. It holds in solution about twenty-five per cent. of solids—

salt, chloride of magnesium and chloride of calcium being the principal ingredients. The water is bitter, oily, and deadly poisonous to all living things except a few of the lowest organisms. Its density is so great that one cannot sink in it, but floats like a piece of light wood on fresh water. The color of the water is light bluish tinged with green.

The depth of the sea below sea-level and its enclosure between high rocky cliffs on both sides make it a kind of caldron when the summer's heat rises to 115° to 120° Fahrenheit. It is estimated that the evaporation which goes on continuously lifts from the sea into the air from six to eight million tons of water each day. This tremendous mass of vapor sails away on the wings of the wind, and is precipitated in the form of rain or dew, and helps maintain the animal and vegetable life in the adjacent areas of mountain, valley, and plain.

70. Palestine's Past. The geographical characteristics of Palestine have made its climate semitropical. They have determined its winds, its rainfall, and its temperatures. And these features have had much to do with fostering its plant life, its animal life, its ability to support a population and to build up a civilization such as existed in Old Testament times. There is abundant evidence that Palestine was well populated, that its peoples built up and maintained some considerable villages and cities, the ruins of which can be found all over the land. References not only in the Old Testament but in the contemporaneous literatures of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria attest the significance of some of those places through long successive centuries of time.

**71. Begin-
nings of
Exploration.**

Convinced of the importance of such remains, travelers and scholars early began to visit this land of sacred memories. We shall pass over the visits during the early Christian centuries, the Crusades, and subsequent events down to modern times. A few names of those who have done some really valuable service to the cause of Palestinian archeology, must suffice.

Real scientific observation and study of the places and remains of Palestine were inaugurated by Prof. Edward Robinson, of Union Theological Seminary, New York. His mental equipment was of the first order, he being familiar with all the literature on the subject. With Eli Smith, a missionary, he set out in 1838 with a reasonable scientific equipment for that day. His keenness of observation, of detecting frauds on the part of guides, of weighing evidences in identifications, established a method of procedure in the study of Palestine that surpassed all his predecessors and set a goal for his followers. He made a second campaign in 1852, and published full results of the first campaign in one volume, and of both campaigns that swelled into three volumes, entitled *Biblical Researches* (1856). Other Americans who contributed to our knowledge of the country were (1) Lieut. W. F. Lynch of the U. S. Navy, who explored the Dead Sea in 1848; (2) Rev. John A. Paine who went under the auspices of the American Exploration Society in 1870 and identified Pisgah. (3) An American Palestine Exploration Society sent R. Meyer, an engineer, to prepare a map of Palestine, and also employed Rev. Selah Merrill, whose many years as resident American consul

in Jerusalem allowed him to put in shape and publish his archeological accumulations from all parts of the land, under the title *Ancient Jerusalem* (1908).

**72. Early
British
Activities.**

The interest aroused by American exploration in Palestine was followed by the organization of the Palestine Exploration Fund in London in 1865. This Society set out to do continuous systematic work in Palestine. The first task was to make a survey of Jerusalem under Sir Chas. Warren; also to point out places where excavation should be carried on; and to uncover the remains of a church on Mount Gerizim. Warren sunk shafts at several places about the temple at Jerusalem to settle some questions raised by Robinson about the Tyropœan valley.

But the climax of the work done by this Society was a complete survey of Western Palestine. This work was begun in 1871, and was finished in 1878, with an interruption in 1874-77 by an epidemic of cholera. The chief men who took part in the survey were C. R. Conder (1872-74) and Colonel Kitchener (1877-78). The company prepared a great map of Western Palestine on the scale of one inch to the square mile, with a description of all ancient remains in sight. The area embraced about 6,000 square miles from near Tyre to the desert facing Egypt, and from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan Valley. This epoch-making monument was published in 1880, and will be the basis for future work in this area for long years to come. Three volumes of *Memoirs* accompanied the publication of the map. Conder attempted in 1881 to do the same thing for the East-Jordanic territory. But after surveying about 500 square

miles he was compelled by the Turks to quit. He put out his results in 1889 under the title *The Survey of Eastern Palestine*. Other societies and persons have done more or less of this same kind of work, so that today we have considerable literature descriptive of that interesting part of Palestine. This same Exploration Fund employed Clermont-Ganneau, a French scholar, 1873-74, who made a study of antiquities between Jaffa and Jerusalem, and published his results in two large volumes under the title *Archæological Researches in Palestine* (1896-1899). Prof. Edw. Hull with Colonel Kitchener made a complete geological survey of the valley of the Dead Sea and of Wady el-Arabah to the south of it; and the Fund published as a result *Geology of Palestine and Arabia Petræa* (1886).

73. British Excavations. The Exploration Fund in 1890 began to engage in excavations, under Professor Petrie, on the site of Tell el-Hesy, ancient Lachish (Josh. 10 : 3; 2 Kings 14 : 19). This mound was about 120 feet high, and half of it showed remains of ancient buildings. From what Petrie saw exposed on the weathered side of the mound and in the trenches which he cut into it, he was convinced of its great antiquity. He published his researches in *Tell el-Hesy* (Lachish) (1891). Dr. F. J. Bliss continued the work in 1892, and discovered the horizontal strata of eight cities. He found one cuneiform tablet, of the times of the Tell el-Amarna letters, in the third city from the bottom, thus dating this stratum from about 1400-1350 B. C. The lowest stratum or city Bliss put at about 1700 B. C., at least 500 years before the entrance of the main



Fig. 51. The Mound of Gezer

The mound stands on the uplands between the Philistine plain and the hill-country of Judah, about eighteen miles southeast of Jaffa. Its rôle in the history of this area was continuous from about 2500 B. C. to the Christian era. Macalister's finds here have opened a new volume of the history of Canaan (§74).

body of Israel into Palestine. Each successive stratum or city, from the lower to the higher, introduced the excavator to the peoples who successively occupied the land from 1700 B. C. to the last remains on top of the mound. Bliss published his results in a volume entitled *A Mound of Many Cities* (1894). Bliss' next work consisted of excavations at Jerusalem (1894-97) and the results he embodied in a work, *Excavations at Jerusalem* (1898).

The Palestine Exploration Fund (1898-1900) next sent Bliss and Macalister to excavate at several places among the low hills between Judea and Philistia, at Tell Zakariya (Azekah), Tell es-Safi, Tell el-Judeideh, and Tell Sandahanna. In the first three sites traces of the pre-Israelitic period were discovered. These finds are all described in a volume entitled, *Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898-1900* (1902).

**74. Fund
at Gezer.**

The most successful and complete excavation of any city ruin in Palestine was carried out by R. A. S. Macalister at Tell el-Jazar (Gezer) six miles southeast of the village of Ramleh. Clermont-Ganneau had already identified that ruin as Gezer (Josh. 10 : 33; 2 Sam. 5 : 25). Macalister worked on this mound with occasional interruptions from 1902 until 1909. Out of these ruins more archeological material has been collected than out of any other place in Palestine. Gezer was found to have been inhabited by an early non-Semitic people, who were cave-dwellers. Their occupation was earlier than 2500 B. C., for about that time a Semitic race captured the place, and it was held by Semites down to the end of the Hebrew kingdom. Macalister thinks he found traces of four different periods

of Semitic occupation as seen in the walls and implements and weapons used. (1) The first closed about 1800 B. C.—the time of the fall of the Twelfth Egyptian dynasty. (2) The second ended with the close of the Eighteenth dynasty of Egypt, about 1350 B. C. (3) The third closed with the beginning of the Hebrew kingdom, about 1000 B. C., and the fourth was coeval with the Hebrew kingdom ending 586 B. C. The place seems to have been deserted in the Maccabean wars, about 165 B. C.

Of the many hundreds of articles, utensils, weapons, and other archeological remains found in this place, all were ancient. The most important of all discoveries was that of a tunnel, cut through solid rock down to a spring in a cave ninety-four feet below the surface of that rock and one hundred and twenty feet below the surface of the ground today. This was the source of water supply for the city in case of siege. It seems to have been dug through about 1800 B. C. in the first Semitic period. The city had been completely surrounded by walls, and on these walls watch-towers seem to have been built. This was the city which the Egyptian Pharaoh presented to his daughter, the wife of Solomon, and he built up its defenses (1 Kings 9: 15). Macalister also disclosed under Gezer an intricate ingenious collection of tombs. The detailed record of these finds is published in four fine volumes entitled *Excavations of Gezer, 1902-5, 1907-09* (1912).

Beth-Shemesh (Ain Shems) was investigated in 1911-12 by the Fund under the direction of Duncan Mackenzie, helper of Arthur Evans in Crete for ten years. Some important remains were certainly older than 1500 B. C.



Fig. 77. Ancient Jericho as Seen Today

The mound of old Jericho was about 1150 feet long by 500 feet broad, and varied in height from 17 to 40 feet. Its general direction is northeast by north and southwest by south. Out from under its eastern wall flows the great spring of Elisha, the life of the oasis of modern Jericho. Sellin's excavations (875) showed a roughly walled Canaanitish city, on the top of which in part of it were Israelitish constructions, including a fortress or castle. The exhibits of house and wall constructions are most interesting, as sun-dried bricks were mainly used, but are now almost entirely disintegrated by the action of nature.

Hebrews lived there until Sennacherib's invasion in 701 B. C. The upper strata belong to the age of the Moham-medan conquest.

Just the year before the outbreak of the World War, Messrs. C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence were sent by the Fund to explore the wilderness of the *Negeb*, the south country. They made a careful study of the highway to Egypt, the ruins, the springs, and the like. Their discoveries are published in Volume III of the Fund's Annual as *The Wilderness of Zin*.

Since the World War, matters have been so unsettled that the Fund has undertaken no considerable task in Palestine, though the *Quarterly Statements* have brought us many new items of Biblical and geographical interest.

75. German German Biblical scholars, following in the
Excavations. wake of American and British leaders, organized in 1877 a society (*Der Deutsche Palästina-Verein*) to stimulate an interest in Palestine, and to engage in the actual work of exploration and excavation. The very next year that organization began to publish a journal to serve as a mouthpiece of the Society. (1) Its first actual excavation was conducted at Jerusalem in 1880 by Prof. Hermann Guthe, along the ancient wall on the east side of the city of David. (2) The next attempt to excavate was made in 1903 on the site of old Megiddo (*Tell el-Mutesellim*; Josh. 12 : 21; 2 Kings 23 : 29) by G. Schumacher, an experienced explorer. Active work was carried on here during parts of 1903-05. In the lowest stratum Schumacher found early forms of pottery, bronze instruments, and scarabs set in gold. He located this layer in time prior to 2000 B. C. In the next stratum

above he discovered the remains of a large palace built of stone. Pottery, flint, bronze, stone household articles, an Astarte, and Egyptian scarabs of the Twelfth dynasty located this stratum about 2000-1800 B. C. In the superimposed strata were found pillars as objects of worship, other religious emblems, and many small antiquities. The results are given in a volume entitled, *Tell el-Mutesellim* (1908).

Austrian scientific societies encouraged the exploration of Palestine by contributing means to aid Prof. E. Sellin to excavate in 1902-03 at old Taanach (*Tell Taanek*; Josh. 12 : 21; Judg. 5 : 19). Sellin's diggings opened traces of four strata, the lowest of which he placed at about 2500 B. C. In this stratum he found four cuneiform tablets with the same type of script found on the Tell el-Amarna tablets (1400-1350 B. C.). The second layer from the bottom contained pottery of the Philistine and Cypriote patterns. Over this was a Hebrew stratum which seems to have reached down to Psamtik I of Egypt (663-609 B. C.). Other remains came down to the Seleucid period, and even later. Sellin's results appeared in a volume entitled *Tell Taanek* (1904).

The organization that has done such successful excavating in Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*, has done notable work on the site of Tell Hum on the Sea of Galilee, the probable location of ancient Capernaum. They laid bare the ruins of a once splendid synagogue of the fourth century A. D. Underneath it there are traces of another probable synagogue, thought by some to be the one built by the Roman centurion (Luke 7 : 5).

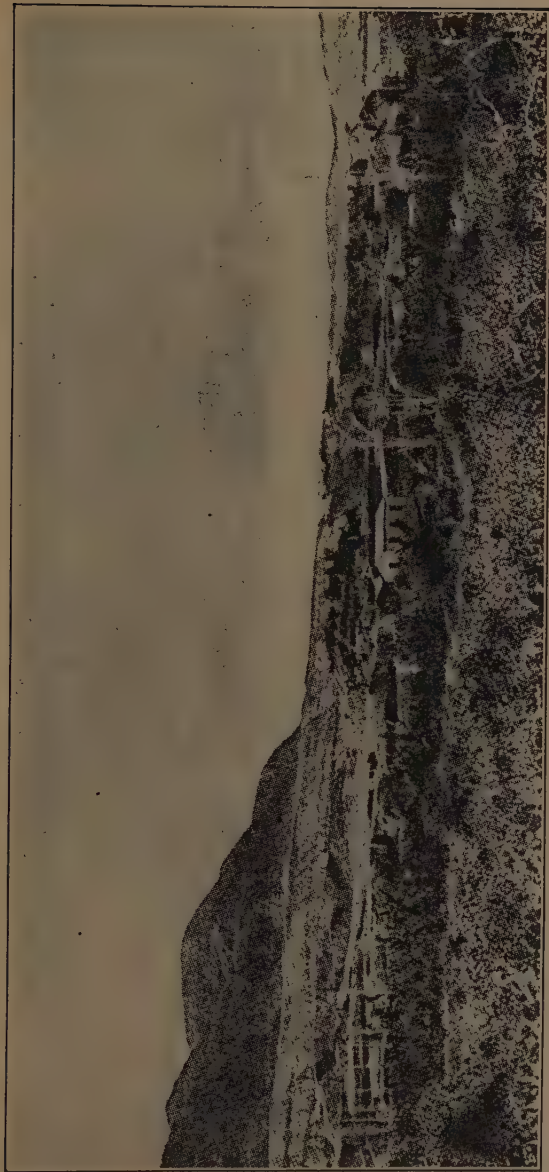


Fig. 78. Old Mound of Jericho

Tell es-Sultan is the modern name of the mound that represents old Jericho (Fig. 77). It looms up at the north end of modern Jericho, which is by nature a paradise, but by man's indolence, a village of hovels. This great mound invited investigation, and its conelike protrusions promised surprises. Sellin cut trenches, sunk shafts, and uncovered ruins from January 2 to April 8, 1908, and from January 15 to April 2, 1909, and has given us a revelation as to the millennia of history which that old mound once concealed.

The same Austrian Society, under Sellin's charge, in 1907-09 excavated on the site of old Jericho. The mound was penetrated at the level of the virgin soil, and they found distinct traces of a prehistoric people. On the top of this were remains of a Canaanite occupation, in which was found a scarab of the Twelfth Egyptian dynasty, about 2000 B. C. The early city wall still existed except on the east side near Elisha's fountain (cf. 2 Kings 2 : 19-22). The size of the mound shows that the city was very small. It was elliptical in form; its extreme length was about 1100 feet and its width about 500 feet. A citadel with a double wall stood in the city. The outside wall was four to five feet thick, and the inner one ten feet thick. These walls were bound here and there by transverse walls. The city seems to have been burned about 1300-1200 B. C.—near the date of the Hebrew conquest. The Hebrew relics were found above the ruins just mentioned and presumably date from the ninth century B. C. (1 Kings 16 : 34). Sellin supposed the Hebrews enlarged the city, as the Hebrew wall stands outside the old wall except on the east side. He thinks the Hebrew town had about 200 years of significant life, and was probably crushed by Sennacherib about 701 B. C. Its subsequent history has little significance for our study. The results of this fascinating discovery were published by Sellin and Watzinger under title of *Jericho* (1913).

76. Samaria and Jerusalem. The Americans, after long years of lethargy, came to themselves in 1900 and started the American School of Oriental Research in Palestine, backed up by the Archæological Institute of America. The several annual Directors have

carried on minor excavations and researches from 1902 down into the years of the war.

But the really significant efforts since 1900 under American auspices have been made at Samaria. Harvard University, by the generosity of Mr. Jacob Schiff of New York, conducted excavations, 1908-10. Prof. D. G. Lyon had charge, 1908-9, and Prof. G. A. Reisner, 1909-10. Notable palace remains were found on the east end of the hill, believed by some to be those of King Omri (1 Kings 16 : 24) ; and above this another large one with marble veneer, thought to be Ahab's (1 Kings 22 : 39). On the southwestern edge of the hill stands the beautiful cut-stone remains of a city gate, with foundations which are certainly Israelitish. Above the ruins of the Hebrew city it is thought that there was an Assyrian city (2 Kings 17 : 24-34). Over all the above-mentioned remains Herod the Great built a temple, when he rebuilt the city, which he called Sebaste, the Greek for Augusta, thus honoring Emperor Augustus. The results of this expedition have been published under the title *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* (1924), edited by Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon.

In 1909-11 a British expedition under Captain Parker did some clandestine work on Ophel south of the present walls of Jerusalem, about the pool of Siloam, and the Biblical Gihon (1 Kings 1 : 33).

77. Since the World War. The World War put an end to such organized effort. But since the declaration of peace various bodies have inaugurated work at several points. Among these are the activities of the University of Pennsylvania at Bethshean near the Jordan, east of the plain of Esdraelon; the American School at



Fig. 79. Israelitish Wall of Old Jericho

It was built by the Israelites, is the opinion of Sellin. No cut stone nor mortar bound the wall together. Weight and height seem to be the only secure bonds.

Jerusalem's diggings at Gibeah of Saul; and the work of a Danish society on the site of ancient Shiloh. Other exploration parties have swept through this or that portion of the land, but few of them have published more than brief sketches of their work in the *Bulletins* of the American School, in the *Quarterly Statements*, or in more or less popular articles in newspapers. It is to be hoped that henceforth some very serious and extensive excavations may be carried out to enlarge greatly our knowledge of the ancient Hebrews whose life was so closely knit with the Old Testament.

NOTE ON FIG. 129, tail-piece below: Part of Southwest City Gate and Wall of Samaria. The hill of Samaria rises 330 feet above the plain which reaches practically around three sides of it, and 1,542 feet above the Mediterranean Sea, which can be seen twenty-three miles to the west. On the southwest curve of the oval form of the hill were uncovered these remains of this remarkable gate with its stone bastions on each side. About 100 yards to the east of this gate the supposed walls of the palaces of Omri and Ahab have been brought to light (Fig. 107).





CHAPTER VII

PRIMITIVE TRADITIONS AND GENESIS

78. Traditions Universal.

Most of the great nations of antiquity have preserved legends or traditions of the creation of the world, of the origin of man, of the fall, and of the deluge. These traditions vary greatly in value. Some of them are not worthy of mention, while others are so startling in their resemblances to the accounts in Genesis as to demand careful consideration. Of all the traditions found today in the documents of the old nations, those embodied in the

NOTE ON FIG. 126, head-piece above: A sacred tree is found in most oriental religions. Eridu, an early seaport city of Babylonia, was a center of religion and culture. "On holy ground" in its garden grew up a sacred tree, whose roots took hold on the "deep." Its form is the conventional representation of a palm tree, possibly a whole grove of palms. On either side cherubic figures kneel with uplifted hand indicating blessing. Sometimes the cherubim (§83) have the faces of eagles, and generally they stand before the tree.



Fig. 53. Gilgamesh Strangling a Lion

Between the colossi that guarded the entrance to Sargon's palace on both sides at Khorsabad stands this giant strangling a lion with one arm, and holding in the other hand a weapon of some kind. Notice the tremendous head, with its marvelous growth of hair and beard, and the artist's delineation of his muscular strength.

cuneiform language of Babylonia-Assyria are by far the most interesting and important. In the consideration of these traditions, the order of events narrated in Genesis



Fig. 52. Gilgamesh at Grips with a Lion

Gilgamesh was a kind of Sumerian demigod, a predecessor of the Greek Heracles, whose labors were renowned. This is called the masterpiece of old Sumerian art. This giant of strength is grappling with a huge lion, as did Samson (Judges 14 : 6), and Heracles with the Nemean lion.

will be followed. It will be impossible to present in full the Babylonian cosmogony, or the mythical stories that are attached thereto, but its general representation of the beginnings of things will be seen from the appended speci-

mens of translations from a text that is corrected on the basis of many fragments and some entire documents.

79. Babylonian Creation. The history of the finding of the creation tablets of Babylonia is full of romantic interest, but we can notice here only their translation. They are supposed to have consisted originally of seven tablets. The following for our purpose is the most important part of these tablets; I have utilized part of the Ashur version¹:

- When above the heavens were unnamed,
 below the earth had no name,
 the primeval Apsu was their progenitor,
 Mummu and Tiamat, who bore all of them,
 5. their waters into one they mingled.
 When reeds were not yet bound together, marshes had not
 emerged,
 when none of the gods had been formed,
 neither was any one named nor any destiny fixed;
 then the gods were created in the midst of (Apsu, Mummu and
 Tiamat).
 10. Lakhmu and Lakhamu were formed, and called by name;
 as they grew up they became mighty.
 Anshar and Kishar were created, but they (the gods) were
 superior to them.
 The days were long, to them were added years;
 Anu, their son, equal to his father—
 15. Anshar made Anu, his first-born, an equal.

In brief, the interpretation of this partial inscription is that early, even before the beginning of things, except Apsu, Mummu, and Tiamat, the gods first appeared. Lakhmu and Lakhamu produced the heavens above (Anshar), and the earth beneath (Kishar). After a

¹ Translated by D. D. Luckenbill, *AJSL*, Vol. 38, pp. 12-35.

lapse of time Anshar made a great god of the Babylonian pantheon, Anu, ruler of the sky. Succeeding lines describe the terrific conflict between Tiamat and Enlil-Marduk (Fig. 94, p. 104). What we possess of the fourth tablet describes the victory of this same mighty god, Marduk, over Tiamat, or the goddess of chaos, and all her host of allies. This is the formal defeat of chaos and the victory of order. Marduk took one-half of the body of Tiamat and made a covering for the heavens, and with the other half he made the earth beneath, and Anu, Enlil, and Ea occupied it as their abode. The fifth tablet describes the furnishings of the heavenly stations :

- He (Marduk) established the stations of the great gods;
the stars, their images, as signs of the zodiac he fixed.
He established the year, and fixed its seasons.
For the twelve months he fixed three stars.
5. From the day of the beginning of the year . . . for signs.
He fixed the station of Jupiter, to establish their limits,
that no one might err or go astray.
The station of Enlil and Ea he set by his side.
He opened the great gates on both sides.
10. He secured left and right with bolts.
In the midst of it he fixed the zenith;
the moon-god he made to shine, ruling the night.
He set him, a creature of the night, to make known the days,
each month, without fail, with a crown he provided him, (saying) :
15. " At the beginning of the month, shine upon the lands,
show thy horns, determine six days;
on the seventh let the tiara vanish."

The remainder of this tablet is so mutilated that it gives slight sense. The sixth tablet opens with a few good lines of text :

- When Marduk heard the word of the gods,
 his heart stirred him up and he devised skilful plans;
 he opened his mouth, to Ea he spoke, as to
 what he had conceived in his heart, he gave counsel.
5. "Blood will I create, and bone will I cause to be.
 I will set up man, indeed, man shall be his name.
 I will create man, even man.
 They (men) shall worship the gods; they (the gods) shall be
 appeased.
 I will change the ways of the gods, skilfully will I devise it.
10. Alike shall they all be honored, and unto their (several tasks)
 let them be allotted."

Then out of the seventh tablet we gather a few lines of significant meaning:

- "O Asaru, giver of harvests, founder of agriculture,
 who didst create grain and plants, who caused to spring up . . .
 O Asaru-alim, who is honored in the house of counsel
 whom the gods honor, fearing
5. O Asaru-alim-nunna, the great light
 who determines the decrees of Anu, Enlil [*and Ea*].
 Tutu as Aga-azag may mankind praise
 the lord of pure incantation, who makes the dead alive,
 who on the captive gods showed his compassion,
10. who laid the burdensome yoke upon the gods, his enemies;
 to appease them he created mankind.
 The gracious one, with whom is life—
 may his word be established, may it never be forgotten,
 in the mouth of the black-headed people, whom his hand created!

Another interesting small Assyrian tablet² refers to the creation of cattle and beasts:

When the gods in their assembly had made
 had established the firmament and settled
 had created living things of all kinds,
 cattle of the field, and beasts of the field, and moving
 things [*of the city*].

² *Cuneiform Texts*, Part XIII, 34.



Fig. 94. Marduk Fighting Tiamat

In the Babylonian epic of Creation, the heroic acts of Marduk, champion of the gods of heaven he attacks and fights Tiamat, the power of the primeval deep or chaos, with thunderbolts, defeats, slays and destroys her (§79).

In this fragment the beasts and wild animals were the result of the creational activity of the assembled gods.

80. Sumerian-Babylonian Creation.

Here is part of a curious bilingual, Sumerian and Babylonian (Akkadian), found by Rassam at Abu-Habba in 1882. Its likeness to Genesis pertains mainly to the attempted description of nothingness in Genesis 2 : 5 :

“ Now there was yet no plant of the field in the earth, and no herb of the field had yet sprung up ; for Jehovah God had not yet caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was no man to till the ground.” The Sumerian account reads :

The glorious house, the house of the gods, in a glorious place had not been built ;

no reed had grown up, no tree had been created ;

no brick had been made, no foundation had been laid ;

no house had been made, no city had been built.

5. No city had been made, no creature had been established.

Nippur had not been made, Ekur had not been constructed ;

Erech had not been made, Eanna had not been constructed ;

the deep had not been made, Eridu had not been built.

(As for) the glorious house, the house of the gods, its dwelling had not been made.

10. The whole of the lands were sea

when within the sea there was a collection of water.

Then Eridu was constructed, Esagila was built,

Esagila in the midst of the deep,

where the god Lugal-dul-azaga dwelt,

Babylon was constructed, Esagila was completed.

15. The gods, the Anunnaki, he made at one time ;

the glorious city, the seat dear to their hearts they made supreme.

Marduk bound a structure of reeds (a boat?) upon the face of the waters.

He made dirt, and poured it beside the reed-structure.

To make a dwelling for the gods dear to their heart,

20. he formed mankind.
The goddess Aruru, with him, made the seed of mankind.
The cattle of the field, the living creatures of the plain
he created.
He formed and set in their places the Tigris and Euphrates—
he well proclaimed their names.
25. The grass, the marsh-grass, the reed, and the forest he planted;
he made the green grass of the plain;
the lands, the marshes, and the fen.
The wild cow and her young; the young wild ox, the ewe and
her young, the lamb of the fold;
gardens and forests;
30. the wild goat and mountain-goat him.
The lord Marduk made a terrace by the seashore,
. . . . a fen, a marsh, he established,
. . . . he caused to be.
Reeds he created, trees he created;
35. he made in their places.

These are wonderful stories or traditions of the beginning of things. In this last one the writer strives through the first part of it to convey the idea of wasteness, of nothingness, of a time when there was nothing on the earth. After he had exhausted his resources in this direction he turned about and described in the same manner positively the order of creation. This story reads almost like an expansion of the Genesis record with a Babylonian coloring.

Before passing on to other features of
81. **Genesis** Babylonian tradition, let us look at some of
and Babylo- the resemblances and differences between
nian
Compared. Genesis and these records:

(1) Genesis knows a time when the earth was waste and void. The Babylonian accounts mention a time when all was chaos and nothingness.



Fig. 54. Gilgamesh Swinging a Lion over His Head

Is to be considered in connection with Figures 52 and 53. This mythical giant of antiquity performed feats with wild beasts that have been celebrated on seal-cylinders, in poems, and in sculpture. By some he has been considered as the "Nimrod" of Genesis; but his superman deeds put him in a class by himself. This triumphant deed speaks for itself—an Assyrian seal-cylinder in the British Museum.

(2) In Genesis light dispels darkness, and order follows chaos. In the Babylonian records the god Marduk routs and overthrows the demon of chaos, Tiamat.

(3) In Genesis, after a time, the dry land appears. In the Babylonian account, Marduk created the dust and poured it out by the water.

(4) In Genesis, the sun, moon, and stars are set in the heavens. In the Babylonian, Marduk places these as the stations of the gods.

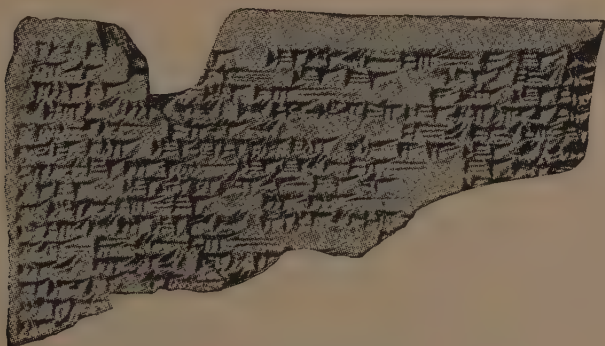


Fig. 34. Fragment of the First Tablet of Creation

George Smith found the fragments of the Seven Creation Tablets in Kuyunjik, Nineveh, in a room of Ashurbanipal's palace, in 1874. They were copies from Babylonian originals, some of which have been found in the ruins of Borsippa and Sippar, and composed probably about 2200-1800 B. C.

(5) In Genesis, God created the animals and creeping things. In the Babylonian, the assembly of the gods created animals and living creatures of the field and plain.

(6) In Genesis, God created mankind. In the Babylonian, Marduk is the creator of mankind.

Here are, then, six prominent similarities between the two records. They are, of course, not identical, but if certain portions of this Babylonian account had been

omitted, these lines would read almost like a copy of the Genesis record.

But the unlikenesses, though not so numerous as the former, are extremely significant:

(1) Genesis mentions God as the Creator of all things. The Babylonian record mentions no one as creator of all things, but various gods come in for their share in the beginnings.

(2) Genesis describes a waste and an abyss. The Babylonian account personifies these words (*Tohu* and *Tiamat*) as warriors who met in combat Marduk the most prominent god in the Babylonian pantheon.

(3) Genesis is pervaded with monotheism, while the Babylonian account is permeated with polytheism.

How can we account for so few unlikenesses? Did the writer of the Genesis record borrow his account from the Babylonian tablets? or did the Babylonian record have its origin in the Genesis account? or did both derive their story from a common original source? Or, is there some other method of explaining their similarities? These questions will receive attention at the close of this chapter.

82. **Hebrew and Babylonian Sabbath.** The next Old Testament institution with a supposed parallel on the monuments is the Sabbath. "God rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made, and God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because in it he rested from all his work which God had creatively made" (Gen. 2 : 3). One prominent text on the monuments which demands notice is the following:³

³ *IV Rawl.*, 32², 28-38.

The seventh day is the feast of Marduk and Zarpanit. An evil day. The shepherd of the great peoples shall not eat flesh cooked upon coals, or smoked (!). The garment of his body he shall not change, nor put on clean raiment. An offering he shall not make. The king shall not ride in a chariot. He shall not speak as a victor. A seer shall not utter an oracle in a secret place. The physician shall not lay his hand on the sick. To utter a curse (on that day) is not proper. At night, the king shall bring his gift before Marduk and Ishtar, and pour out a libation. The lifting up of his hand will then be acceptable to his god.

The same restrictions were placed on actions on the fourteenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days. These days correspond to the Hebrew Sabbaths, except in the case of the nineteenth, and naturally remind us of the prohibitions in the two editions of the Ten Commandments (Exod. 20 : 8-11 and Deut. 5 : 12-15). The fundamental difference between the two accounts lies in the fact that the Babylonian prohibitions were operative only upon the "shepherd of the great peoples," "the king," "the seer," and "the physician," and not for the entire population.

A new series of tablets published by Professor Clay of Yale University⁴ tells us that special sacrifices were offered on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of each month. Contract tablets, however do not inform us of any slacking up in business done on those days. Neither would the records of some European countries today where theoretically the Sabbath is supposed to be a day of rest.

Whatever may be inferred from these Babylonian narratives, it is, at least, evident that some significance was attached to the days mentioned; whether they had

⁴ YOS I, Nos. 46-51.

been more generally observed in earlier times is not as yet known. Just what, if any, relation existed between the Hebrew and Babylonian seventh-day observance no one can positively say.

The Babylonians reckoned their time according to the movements of the moon, and this, of course, divided their lunar month into four weeks of seven days each, corresponding to the four quarters of the moon. The days also were named after the seven planetary deities. This number seven seems to have been held in especial reverence by the Babylonians, possibly because of their high regard for the seven planets which had been observed by astronomers from ancient times. The old Babylonian hymns consecrate the number seven in various ways.

Seven is the number of spirits whose origin is in the depths, who know neither order nor custom, nor listen to prayers and desires. Seven and twice seven is the knot to be tied by the woman who sits by the bedside of her sick husband and conjures the evil spirits.

The mythical serpent in the hymns has seven heads, and the gates to the underworld are seven—all testifying to the general use and sacredness of the number seven in those primitive times.

83. Garden of Eden. The question regarding the location of the Garden of Eden is not solved by the inscriptions of Babylonia. They make frequent mention of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, and, among a list of irrigating canals of that valley, Professor Delitzsch found two by the names of *Pisânu* and *Guhâna* corresponding to the Hebrew names Pishôn and Gihôn (Gen. 2 : 10-14) in the Old Testament. Whether this theory is true or not, it is practically agreed among Assy-

iologists, that the so-called Eden was located in primitive times somewhere within easy reach of the Persian Gulf, possibly at its head. The inscriptions tell us of a primitive sacred garden, in which there was a tree of life. This sacred tree is seen frequently on the seals of prominent personages of Babylon. It also appears among the alabaster reliefs found on the wainscoting of the royal palaces. Approach to it seems to have been limited to the gods or to distinguished persons. Its fruits also were thought to contain qualities capable of granting and maintaining life perpetually.

84. Fall of Man, Myth of Adapa. The fall of man, in the "myth of Adapa," found on four Babylonian fragments, three of them from the library of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, and the fourth from the archives of King Amenhotep IV (1375-1358 B. C.) of Egypt at Tell el-Amarna, is a remarkable story.

The resemblances of the ideas in this myth to the so-called "fall of man" in Genesis chapter three are passing strange. This Adapa, like Adam, had a certain amount of inherent wisdom, but was not immortal. He was a kind of a semidivine person, and was the priest and sage of the temple of the god Ea at Eridu. In carrying out the requirements of his office, he was a fisherman on the Persian Gulf. While out fishing one day the south wind suddenly swooped down on his craft, overturned it, and of course, threw him into the sea. Enraged by the insult he broke the wings of the south-wind, and thus destroyed its power for seven days to blow cool air over the hot land. Anu and Ea, the great gods, called him to account and warned him. Ea admonished him that when

he should reach heaven's portal he should not eat the food or drink the potions which would be set before him, for fear that they would be the food and drink of death. Such admonition was ill devised, for it was the food and drink of life that were set before him, and this bad counsel robbed him of immortal life, and he was obliged to return to the earth.

A translation of the texts from the several sources where they are published ⁵ follows (Tablet 1) :

- He possessed (!) intelligence
 His command like the command of the god . . .
 Large intelligence he (Ea) perfected for him, to reveal the
 destiny of the land,
 unto him he gave wisdom; eternal life he did not grant him.
5. In those days, in those years, the sage, son of Eridu—
 Ea had created him as a leader (?) among men—
 a sage whose orders none could oppose;
 the sagacious, the most wise among the Anunnaki was he,
 blameless, clean of hands, anointed, who executed divine com-
 mand,
10. with the bakers he was baking,
 with the bakers of Eridu, he was baking,
 the food and drink of Eridu he prepared daily.
 With clean hands he set (bound) the table,
 without him the table was not cleared (loosened).
15. The ship he steered, for Eridu he fished and hunted.
 At that time Adapa of Eridu (var. of Erech)
 son of Ea . . . in the chamber, upon the bed;
 daily he looked after the closing of Eridu.
 At the sacred quay, the quay of the new-moon, he embarked upon
 the (sailing) ship.
20. The wind blew, his ship sailed away.
 With the rudder he steered the ship
 upon the wide sea.
-

⁵ *Recueil de Travaux*, XX, 127ff.; Winckler-Abel, *Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, No. 240; *PSBA*, XVI (1894), 274ff.

Tablet 2:

.
The south wind [*blew and capsized him*].

To the house [*of the deep*] it made him go down,

"O South wind, on the way [*increase*] thy wrath as [*thou canst*],

5. thy wings will I break." As with his mouth he spoke,
the wings of the south wind were broken, seven days
the south wind blew not on the land. Anu the god
to his messenger Ilabrat said,
"Why has the south wind not blown upon the land for seven
days?"
10. His messenger, Ilabrat, answered him, "My lord,
Adapa, the son of Ea, the wings of the south wind
has broken." Anu, when he heard these words,
cried, "Help." He ascended his throne [*saying*], "Let some one
bring him,
likewise let Ea who knows the heavens, summon him."
15. . . . he caused him to wear. With a mourning garb
he clothed him, and counseled him,
saying: "Adapa, into the presence of Anu the king art thou going,
let the order not fail, keep my word.
When thou comest up to heaven and approachest the gate of Anu,
20. at the gate of Anu, Tammuz and Gishzida
are standing; when they see thee they will inquire: "Lord,
for whose sake art thou thus, Adapa? For whom
art thou dressed in the garb of mourning?" "In our country
two gods have disappeared, therefore
am I thus." "Who are the two gods, who in the land
25. have disappeared?" "Tammuz and Gishzida." They will
look at one another and
be astounded. Gracious words
will they speak to Anu, a favorable countenance of Anu
will they show thee. When thou standest before Anu,
food of death will they set before thee,
30. do not eat. Water of death will they set before thee,
do not drink. A garment will they set before thee,
put it on. Oil will they set before thee; anoint thyself.
The admonition that I give thee, do not forget. The words
that I have spoken, hold fast." The messenger

35. of Anu came [saying]: "Adapa has broken
the wings of the south wind. Bring him before me."
The road to heaven he made him take, and to heaven he ascended.
When he came to heaven, when he approached the gate of Anu,
at the gate of Anu, Tammuz and Gishzida were standing.
40. At sight of him, they cried; "Adapa, help!
Lord, for whose sake are thou thus? Adapa
for whom art thou dressed in the garb of mourning?"
"In our country two gods have disappeared; therefore in the
garb of mourning
am I clad." "Who are the two gods, who have disappeared from
the land?"
45. "Tammuz and Gishzida." They looked at one another and
were astounded. When Adapa before Anu, the King,
came near, and Anu saw him, he called out:
"Come, Adapa, why hast thou broken the wings
of the south wind?" Adapa answered: "Anu, my lord,
50. for the house of my lord in the midst of the sea
I was fishing. In the middle of the voyage,
the south wind stormed upon me and capsized me.
To the house of the lord [*of the deep*] it made me go
down. In the wrath of my heart,
(the south wind) I cursed. At my side answered Tammuz
55. and Gishzida, 'Thy heart should be toward Anu.'"
They spoke, he was calmed, his heart was [*won*].
"Why has Ea revealed to impure man
the heart of heaven and earth? A heart
. . . has created within him; a name he has given him.
60. What can we do for him? Food of life
bring him, that he may eat." Food of life
they brought him, he ate not. Water of life
they brought him, he drank not. A garment
they brought him, he put it on. Oil
65. they brought him, he anointed himself.
Anu looked at him; he wondered (?) at him.
"Come, Adapa, why has thou not eaten nor drunken?
Now, thou shalt not live; . . . men . . . Eat, my lord,
said: "Do not eat, do not drink."
70. Take him and bring him back to earth.
. looked upon him.

A comparison between this myth and Genesis chapters two and three brings out two or three things. The "food of life" apparently corresponds to the "tree of life" of Genesis. Adam lost perpetual life because he wished to become like God, and was thrust out of Eden lest he should eat of the "tree of life" and live forever (Gen. 3 : 22). Adapa was already a wise man and failed to become immortal, not on account of his disobedience or



Fig. 156. So-called Temptation Seal

This notable seal-cylinder comes out of a far-off antiquity. Two persons sit one on each side of a tree on which hangs fruit. Behind one of them, the one without horns, we see the wiggling form of an upright serpent,—you have the whole story (§85).

presumption, but because of his obedience to Ea, his creator, who misled him. Professor Zimmern of Leipzig thinks the Genesis narrative may have been influenced in part by this remarkable tale. At any rate this story reached Egypt as early as the fourteenth century B. C., and to do that, of course, was taken through Palestine.

85. Fall in Picture. The myth of Adapa is the nearest inscrip-
tional report of the "fall of man." This
strange event too, is seen by some students
in the remarkable seal-cylinder of Fig. 156. A serpent
appears frequently in ancient mythology and usually em-

bodies in itself some sinister purpose. The fact that this crude reptile occupies a place behind the figure which is thought to be a woman attaches in some minds especial significance to the scene. It is at least important enough not to be passed over in this connection, and may have a meaning that later on will be discovered. Some scholars suppose that this is a crude figurative representation of some tradition of the fall of man which was current among the peoples of old Babylonia.

86. Cherubim.

The cherubim were placed at the east of the garden of Eden, and the flame of a sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life (Gen. 3 : 24). These strange creations, so frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, are probably akin in some way to the winged bulls and lions found so frequently at the entrances of palaces and temples in Babylonia. Their purpose was almost one and the same. Ezekiel's complicated and constructive figure in the first chapter of his prophecy carries in it some of the different features of these colossi, when he describes the four faces as those of a man, a lion, a bull, and an eagle. Ezekiel's presence as an exile in Babylonia doubtless made him familiar with these stupendous guards, and caused him to regard them as his best symbols of majesty and power. The cherubim of the tabernacle were set as protectors of the ark of the covenant, of the majesty of Jehovah's presence. The Babylonian-Assyrian colossi, the bulls and lions, were set as guards to royal palaces, to protect the majesty of the rulers' abodes. Just what the cherubim who guarded the entrance to Eden were, we cannot tell. But the similarity in name and in office suggests

some relation in thought between the guards at Eden's entrance and the great doorways to the magnificent palaces of Babylonia-Assyria.

87. Long-lived Patriarchs.

The long-lived patriarchs of Genesis chapter five have been a problem to Bible students. Whether we explain them as leaders of tribes, as mythical personages, or as traditional heroes, or as primitive kings with expanded dates, interest in them is enhanced by the discovery of a similar list of rulers in the cuneiform texts of early Babylonia.⁶ The text is so badly broken that only a few lines here and there can be translated with certainty:

<i>Column I</i>	<i>Column II</i>
11. Arpi son of Mash-da-ge ruled 720 years. Etana the shepherd	From Kish the Kingdom passed to Eanna. In Eanna
15. lands ruled 635 years. son of Etana ruled 410 years.	5. Meskingasher son of Shamash, as lord and king ruled 325 years.
20. Enmenunna ruled 611 years. Melam-Kish son of Enmenunna ruled 900 years	10. Meskingasher went into and came out from Enmeirkar son of Meskinga-
25. Barsalnunna son of Enmemunna ruled 1,200 years . . . za-m . . . son of Barsal- nunna ruled years	15. sher, king of Erech the people of Erech sustained as king
30. son of Barsalnunna.	20. ruled 420 years. Lugal-banda, the shepherd,

⁶ Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, 1914, No. 2.

ruled 1,200 years.

Dumuzi, the hunter,
whose city was *Ha-a*

25. ruled 100 years.

Gilgamesh,
whose father was
lord of Kullab
ruled 126 years.

Column III

(About twenty-four lines missing)

In Ur,
Mesannipada
became king,
he ruled 80 years.

5. Meskiagnunna
son of Mesannipada
ruled 30 years.
Elu
ruled 25 years.

10. Balu
ruled 36 years, four kings
ruled 171 years.
The kingdom of Ur
passed to Awan.

(Seven lines gone; Poebel says
Columns 4-9 are lost, and first
part of 10 is lacking.)

Column IV (X)

[Idin-Dagan]
ruled 21 years.
Ishme-Dagan
son of Idin-Dagan

5. ruled 20 years.
Libit-Ishtar
son of Idin-Dagan
ruled 11 years.

Ur-Urta

10. son of

Column V (XI)

Total, 51 kings,
ruled 18,000
years months
Four times

5. in Kish:
total, 22 kings,
ruled 2,610 years,
six months, fifteen days.
Five times

10. in Erech:
total, 13 kings,
ruled
396 years.
Three times

15. in Ur:
total, 3 kings
ruled
356 years.
Once in

20. Awan:
total, one king,
ruled seven years.
Once
in

25.

Column VI (XII)

total kings
ruled
196 years.
Twice

5. in Agade:
total 21 kings,
ruled 125 years and
40 days.
Once

10. among the people
of Gutinna:
total, 11 kings

ruled	royal cities
159 years	ruled.
15. in Isin (?)	Total 134 kings
Eleven	20. Grand Total 28,876 years.

In spite of the broken and mutilated character of this tablet and others still more fragmentary, we have enough of clear statement to lead us to make comparisons between them and Genesis. The one feature which compels notice is the length of time which these kings ruled, and the number of years of the lives of the patriarchs. The list of kings before the flood with the number of years of their reigns, left us by Berossos the Babylonian priest, about the middle of the third century B. C., is so absurdly exaggerated that we pass it by with this mention.

Identification of the names of these two lists and those of Berossos has been variously attempted but with doubtful success as yet, we think. Such identifications as have been made open a wide door to the archeologist, and lead to erroneous conclusions in our estimates of the relations of ancient traditions among different nationalities. The exaggerated character of the figures in all three cases is significant, and may point to a strange idiosyncrasy existent in the traditions, that a long stretch of time magnifies and exalts the superiority of the persons and authority of those ages of giants.

Of all the many traditions that have come down to us through the cuneiform inscriptions, the most elaborate and complete thus far discovered is the Babylonian account of the deluge. A record of this event is found in the works of Josephus and Eusebius, but in all of its vigor and de-

88. Babylo-
nian
Deluge.

tails, the Babylonian account stands next to the Biblical record. This story is found on the eleventh tablet of the great Gilgamesh epic, first discovered and translated by George Smith of the British Museum in 1872. This epic is the finest and most beautiful poem that has been

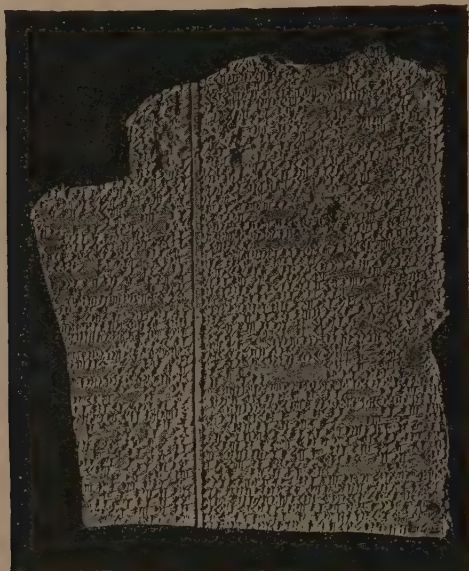


Fig. 43. A Deluge Tablet

The Babylonians have left us some wonderful stories, but none more so than the epic of Gilgamesh, which contained twelve clay tablets. The eleventh of this series, part of which is pictured, is the story of the Babylonian flood, in which the "Noah," Ut-napishtim (§88), builds a ship, rescues his family and friends while all his countrymen are drowned. This tablet was found in the now famous library of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.), and so often described elsewhere.

preserved for us in the literature of ancient Babylonia. Since 1872 several editions of the text have appeared, as well as a large number of translations by scholars in dif-

ferent countries. This tablet contains 205 lines, some of which are irrecoverably broken. The story which leads to the recital of the deluge is full of mythological interest. The great deeds and wonderful adventures of Gilgamesh, ruler of Erech, originally a historical personage, are here recited with real literary power. Gilgamesh, who was afflicted with a dread disease, desired to consult his ancestor, Ut-napishtim, who dwelt far away, in an immortal state. After one month and fifteen days' sail on the waters of death, he reached that far-off land, and met his ancestor, and prayed for aid and advice. He also asked him (Ut-napishtim) "how he happened to be removed alive to the assembly of the gods." His great ancestor's reply is found on this eleventh tablet, together with advice as to how Gilgamesh could be restored to health.

I give below the most interesting parts of the translation: ⁷

Column I:

Gilgamesh spake to him, to Ut-napishtim the remote:

"I look on thee, Ut-napishtim;

thy appearance is not changed; as I am, so art thou;
and thou art not changed, as I am, so art thou.

5. Thy courage is perfect, to make a contest,
thou dost lie down on thy side—upon thy back.
[Tell me how it happened] that thou hast obtained life
in the assembly of the gods?"

Ut-napishtim said to him, to Gilgamesh:

- "I will reveal to thee, Gilgamesh, the secret,
10. and the decision of the gods will I tell thee.
Shurippak, a city, which thou knowest,
lies on the bank of the river Euphrates;
that city was old, and the gods within it—
their hearts prompted them—the great gods—to bring a deluge.

⁷ *IV Rawl.*, 43.

15. [There were together] their father Anu,
their counselor, the warrior Enlil,
their messenger, Urta,
their hero, Ennugi.
The lord of wisdom, Ea, counseled with them.
20. Their words he repeated to the reed-hut:
'O reed-hut, reed-hut, O wall, wall!
O reed-hut, hearken, O wall, give heed!
O man of Shurippak, son of Ubara-Tutu,
pull down thy house, build a ship,
25. forsake thy possessions,
take heed for thy life!
Abandon thy property; save thy life.
Bring the seed of life of every kind into the ship,
the ship that thou shalt build, measure well its dimensions.
30. Make its breadth and its length in good proportions;
and launch her upon the sea.'
Then I understood and spake to Ea, my lord:
'[I understand] my lord; what thou hast commanded
I will observe, and carry out.
35. But what shall I say to the city,
to the people and to the elders?'
Ea opened his mouth and spake,
he said unto me, his servant,
'Thus shalt thou say to them,
know that Enlil hates me.
40. I may not dwell in your city,
Nor lift up my face on Enlil's earth;
I must go down to the sea with Ea my lord, to dwell.
Upon you then will he send an abundance of rain.
..... of birds, a catch of fish.
45. harvest
..... senders of rain,
..... a mighty rain-storm.
When the grey dawn gives place to light.'
[Lines 49-55 are broken away.]
56. The strong brought what was required.
On the fifth day I laid its keel (!).
In its its walls were 120 cubits high.
120 cubits was the reach of its roof.

60. I set up its hull, I enclosed it.
 I built it in stories, up to six,
 I divided it, up to seven parts.
 Its interior I divided up to nine parts.
 Its water I fastened within it.
65. I found me a rudder, and other necessities I prepared.
 Six *sars* of pitch I poured on the outside (!)
 Three *sars* of bitumen I poured on the inside.
 Three *sars* of oil the carriers brought in.
 Besides one *sar* of oil which was used as a libation,
70. The master of the ship stowed away two *sars* of oil.
 For the pe[ople], I slaughtered bullocks,
 daily I killed lambs.
 Must, sesame-wine, oil and wine
 I gave the people to drink [as freely] as water from the river.
75. A feast [I made] like the days of the feast of New Years.
 I op[ened a box of ointment]; I put ointment in my hand.
 of the great Shamash the ship was finished.
 was difficult
 above and below.
80. two-thirds of it.
 With all that I had, I loaded it;
 With all that I had of silver, I loaded it;
 with all that I had of gold, I loaded it;
 with all that I had of living beings, I loaded it.
85. I embarked with all my family and my kinsfolk,
 with cattle of the field, the beasts of the plain, the craftsmen,
 all of them I took on board.
 Shamash set a fixed time [saying]:
 'When the sender of rain in the evening sends a heavy
 rain-storm,
 then embark upon thy ship, and close the ship (the door).'
90. The fixed time approached,
 the sender of rain in the evening sent a heavy rain-storm.
 The appearance of the day, I observed.
 The day was ominous to look upon.
 I embarked upon the ship and I closed my door.
95. To the ship's master, to Puzur-Amurri, the sailor,
 I entrusted the 'great house,' with its contents.
 When the first gleam of dawn appeared,

- there came up from the horizon a dark cloud;
the god Adad thundered within it,
100. while Nebo and Marduk marched in the van;
as messengers they went over mountain and plain.
Nergal tore loose the anchor;
Urta advanced, he let loose the storm;
the Anunnaki lifted up their torches;
105. with their brightness the land was made light.
The raging of Adad reached to heaven,
and all light was lost in the darkness.
It [flooded] the land like
One day the del[uge]
110. Violently it drove, [it raged about] the mountains.
Like an onslaught in battle it swept over the people . . .
No one could see his fellow;
no more were people recognized in heaven—
(Even) in heaven the gods feared the deluge.
115. They took flight, they climbed up to the heaven of
god Anu (i. e., highest heaven).
The gods crouched like dogs, by the walls they cowered.
Ishtar cried like a woman in travail,
the queen of the gods, the sweet-voiced one, mourned
[saying]:
' (The creatures of) the former time are turned to clay,
120. since I, in the assembly of the gods, commanded evil.
When I commanded evil in the assembly of the gods,
did I command an onslaught for the wiping out of
my people, that
when I cause my people to be borne,
they might like spawn fill the sea? '
125. The gods with the Anunnaki wept with her.
The gods sat bowed down and weeping,
they covered their mouths; [silent (?) was their] assembly.
Six days and nights
the wind blew, the deluge and storm overwhelmed [the land].
130. When the seventh day dawned, the storm had spent itself,
(the storm) which had battled like an army.
The sea calmed, the tempest quieted, the flood-storm ceased.
I looked out over the sea, silence reigned.
All mankind had turned to clay (again).

135. Like logs they quietly floated about.
I opened the window, light fell upon my cheek.
I sank back, I sat down, I wept.
My tears streamed down my cheeks.
I looked in all directions—a frightful sea!
140. On the twelfth day a bit of land appeared.
Toward Mount Nizir the ship made its way;
at Mount Nizir the ship grounded (was held) and could
not move.
One day, two days, at Mount Nizir the ship grounded and could
not move.
The third day, the fourth day, at Mount Nizir the ship grounded
and could not move.
145. The fifth day, the sixth day, at Mount Nizir the ship grounded
and could not move.
On the seventh day, at dawn,
I brought out a dove, I let her go.
The dove flew away and came back,
there being no lighting-place she returned.
150. I brought out a swallow; I let her go.
The swallow went out and came back,
there being no lighting-place she returned.
I brought out a raven; I let her go.
The raven alighted; she saw the abatement of the waters.
155. She flew away; she waded about, she croaked (!), and did not
return.
I disembarked (with all the living beings) towards the four
winds; I offered sacrifices.
I offered a sacrifice upon the mountain peak.
By sevens I arranged the vessels for sacrifice.
Under them I piled reeds, cedar-wood, and myrtle;
160. the gods smelt the savor,
the gods smelt the sweet savor.
The gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer.
When finally the queen of the gods came near,
She took up a great . . . which Anu by her wish had made
[saying]:
165. 'O ye gods, as I shall not forget my jewels,
So upon these days I shall ponder, indeed I shall never
forget them.

- Let the gods come to the offering!
But do not let Enlil come to the offering,
for he took no counsel, he brought on the deluge,
170. and counted my people for destruction.'
When finally Enlil came near
he saw the ship; then Enlil was furious.
He was filled with wrath against the gods, the Igigi [saying]:
'Who then has escaped with his life?'
175. No one should live through the destruction.'
Then Urta opened his mouth and spake,
to the mighty Enlil he said:
'Who but Ea could have planned this thing?
Ea even knows everything.'
180. Then Ea opened his mouth and spake,
to the mighty Enlil he said:
'O thou, leader among the gods, mighty Enlil,
How, O how couldst thou, without counsel, bring on a
deluge?
On the sinner place his punishment.
185. On the criminal place (the result of) his crime.
Forbear, that they be not (all) cut off, spare,
Instead of thy making a deluge,
let a lion rise up and diminish mankind!
Instead of thy making a deluge,
190. let a wolf rise up and diminish mankind!
Instead of thy making a deluge,
let a famine come and the land . . . !
Instead of thy making a deluge,
let the god of pestilence come and slay mankind!
195. I have not revealed the decision of the great gods.
I made Atrakhasis see a dream, and the decision of the
gods he heard.
Now take counsel for him.'
Then Ea went up into the ship,
he took my hand and brought me out;
200. He brought out my wife and made her kneel beside me.
He turned us face to face, he stood between us, he blessed
us (saying):
'In former times, Ut-napishtim was a man;
now let Ut-napishtim and his wife be like the gods, like us,

Let Ut-napishtim dwell far away at the mouth of the rivers.'
 205. He took me and caused me to dwell far away at the mouth
 of the rivers."

At this point the Babylonian story of the deluge proper is ended, but the mythical narrative goes on through more than another hundred lines.

The above translation of two hundred and five lines takes advantage of the most important additions found in several fragmentary texts of the same event.

**89. Like-
nesses and
Differences.** The Babylonian account of the deluge bristles with resemblances to that of Genesis. These have led scholars to think that they are merely two versions of the same original account. At this distance we can set side by side some of these items: (1) There is divine revelation to the main hero of the deluge that a disaster is imminent which no one else knows about. (2) Both records tell of the building of a ship, (a) pitched within and without with pitch, (b) the embarkation with all living creatures to be saved alive, (c) the terrific storm bringing a deluge of water, (d) the destruction of all not on board the ship, (e) landing of the ship on a mountain, (f) sending out of birds—a dove, a swallow, a raven, (g) the landing, (h) offering of a sacrifice on landing, (i) acceptance of a sweet savor by the (deity) gods, (j) a reference to the possibility of no deluge in the future.

The differences between the two records are almost as startling as the resemblances: (1) The purpose of the Genesis deluge was to wipe out the sinful race of men, and the decision was made by Jehovah. The Babylonian record gives no purpose except the caprice of the god

Enlil (Bel). (2) The Genesis account is monotheistic, while the Babylonian account is teeming with polytheism; the Babylonian gods disagree, they throw the blame on each other; they cower with fear like guilty dogs, and they swarm about the sacrifice like flies. One has merely



Figs. 106, 107. The So-called Babylonian Noah

The upper seal has been interpreted as a representation of Noah in the ark. Its close resemblance to an entrance to a temple in *Collection of Yale University*, 2, 10, leads one to suspect that this represents the same idea, the many lines being merely an artistic ornament, and not an ark.

The lower cylinder seal carries a boat, not unlike the modern *guffa* of Babylonia, in which is seated a rower (god or a man) accompanied by a standing figure, both dimly sketched. The right field (in the lower part of the picture) represents Gilgamesh fighting off a human-headed bull or demon which is attacked from the other side by a lion. Gilgamesh may be protecting the boatman (Ut-napishtim?) from the fearful onsets of such mythical demoniac creatures as were thought to attack men in the open.

to read the two accounts in succession to see the outstanding religious and inspirational character of the Genesis account as over against the Babylonian story.

90. How The similarities noted above between the
Explain? records of Genesis and the inscriptions call for further consideration. These are not

traditions peculiar to Semitic peoples and religions, which have grown out of their characteristics. They are common to all civilized nations of antiquity. They carry on their faces the marks of the civilizations in which they have been preserved and developed. Their common elements seem to point to a time when the human race occupied a common home and held a common faith. The records of Genesis and the Babylonian inscriptions give us two forms of these early traditions.

How, then, is the similarity between Genesis and the inscriptions to be explained? There are four answers sometimes given to this question: (1) The Genesis account is drawn from these traditions; (2) Genesis is the source of these traditions; (3) their likeness is attributable to like ways of thinking—similar traditions having spontaneously arisen in different parts of the earth because of “the natural tendencies of the human mind in its evolution from a savage state”; (4) “Their likeness is due to a common inheritance, each handing on from age to age records concerning the early history of the race.”

These theories are elaborated by many writers, and are easily disposed of down to the fourth point. To this very many scholars are now turning as the most plausible solution of the problem. All religions are reducible to a

small number of facts. These facts are either individual or common; of the common, some are undoubtedly due to the common nature of man, but others are just as clearly explicable only as an inheritance. Early races of men, wherever they wandered, took with them those primeval traditions, and with the varying latitudes and climes, their habits and modes of life, their intellectual and spiritual development, have carried and modified these, through the ages, and present them to us today in their different dresses. One ancient religion did not borrow these universal traditions from another, but each possessed primitively these traditions in their original form. A careful examination of all these traditions shows that the Genesis record is the purest, the least colored by extravagances, and the nearest to what we must conceive to have been the original form of these traditions.

NOTE ON FIG. 148, tail-piece below: The four-pointed star with rays between each two points is the sun. The planet Venus is an eight-pointed star, while the moon is a plain crescent. These are found on many sacred figures and scenes, especially on boundary-stones and dedications to deities.





CHAPTER VIII

THE TABLE OF THE NATIONS

91. Noah's Forecast.

No one chapter of the Old Testament combines in so small a compass such a comprehensive word-picture of the geographical and political world of the eighth century B. C. as Genesis 10. The writer or writers of this picture were well informed on the political geography of that time. While we may not be able to identify all the districts or areas or peoples mentioned, the cuneiform inscriptions have given us more light than any other source on the problems of this old table. After a study of Chapter I of this work

NOTE ON FIGS. 151, 150, 81, head-piece above: From left to right: A Semitic Syrian (Egyptian bas-relief), a North Syrian (of Yaunafnu), a Judean of Shishak's day (governor of Gannata). The three faces here seen represent as many types of the peoples of Canaan-Syria whom the Egyptian conquered and took captive. They probably represent different sections of the country, and certainly have their own characteristics. The Judean belonged to the early days of the Hebrew dual kingdom.

readers will be better able to locate individual tribes or peoples whose settlements were fixed in the various divisions of the Old Testament world (see map, p. 1).

We shall take up the names in the order of their occurrence in Genesis 10, and briefly indicate the best information now available on their identifications with those recognized in other Biblical narratives and in contemporaneous literatures, mainly Babylonian-Assyrian.

This Table properly embraces Genesis 9 : 18 to 10 : 32—the immediate descendants of Noah. The conclusion of Chapter 9 introduces the sons of Noah: Shem, Ham, and Japheth, with Canaan, the son of Ham. Noah's forecast of their future is as follows (Gen. 9 : 25-27) :

And he said, "Cursed be Canaan;
A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.
And he said,
Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem;
And let Canaan be his servant.
God enlarge Japheth,
And let him dwell in the tents of Shem;
And let Canaan be his servant."

92. Japheth-ites. Turning now to the descendants of the sons of Noah, we find in Genesis 10 : 2: "The sons of Japheth: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech and Tiras."

Gomer is mentioned in Ezekiel 38 : 6 in connection with Togarmah, probably the *Gimirrai* of the Assyrian inscriptions. They were doubtless to be reckoned as Indo-Europeans settled in upper Asia Minor, or Armenia, in the same region with the Medes, the Ashkuza, and the Cimmerians, sometimes covered by the general term Manda.

Magog is the name of the land from which King Gog of Ezekiel 38 hailed. Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal seem to have been his associates out on the far horizon of the distant north. Strangely the Tell el-Amarna letters of the fifteenth century B. C. bring us light on this matter. Amenhotep III, king of Egypt, wrote a letter to Kadashman-Harbe, king of Karduniash, Kassite name for Babylonia; in this letter Amenhotep quotes from a letter sent him by Kadashman-Harbe about his misgivings regarding the identity of a wife whom his messengers saw at the court of the Pharaoh, whether she was really the sister of the king of Karduniash:

Who knows whether she is the daughter of a slave, or of one of the Gaga (peoples), or a daughter of the land of Hanigalbat, or who knows whether she is from the land of Ugarit, she whom my messengers saw?

The lands of the peoples referred to were on the outskirts of the northern zones and the region of the Black Sea. The Gaga (Gog) was among that group of the little known peoples of the frontier.

Madai was the name of a people known as far back as the ninth century B. C. whose habitat was the mountains of northeast Armenia and northwest Persia. The Assyrians called them the "far-off Medes of the east," "the unconquered Medes." They were known as the Umman-Manda, that came down over Assyria like armies of locusts. Their intrepidity and hardihood made them the terror of all neighboring peoples. They played a prominent rôle in some of the later books of the Old Testament, and especially in the contemporaneous history of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia.

Javan was the name of the Greeks, so called by the Hebrews, Assyrians, and Persians. Their home was on the west coast of Asia Minor, in the island of Cyprus and other isles in the Ægean Sea. Whether this term included the European Greeks is not known. In the Assyrian inscriptions they were named *Jamanai*, *Jamnai*, and were first mentioned by Sargon II, who met them in a naval battle in the heart of the sea. Greek kings for a time ruled Cyprus, but it later became a subject of Assyria. Sargon names seven Greek kings, Ashurbanipal ten by name who paid tribute to Assyria. Esarhaddon says that all the kings in the middle of the sea of *Jadanana*, *Javan*, to the land of Musisi had prostrated themselves at his feet. Even an astronomical text in the time of the Arsacidæ (about 275 B. C.) names the Greeks *Jamama*.

Tubal appears in the form of *Tabal* in the inscriptions. They were in the group of peoples crowded back in the mountains by the Hittite and Assyrian kings. Their land is mentioned by Sargon II who gave his daughter to Ambaridi the king of the Tabal peoples as a wife. They were probably the same as the *Tibarene* mentioned by Herodotus¹ among other tribes in the mountains south-east of the Black Sea. There was possibly some relationship between Tubal-Cain the smith (Gen. 4 : 22) and this Tubal of the Table of Nations.

Meshech was probably the Muski of the Assyrian inscriptions. They first appear in the frontier campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I. In 1100 B. C. the Muski menaced the territory once occupied by the Mitanni on the upper

¹ III, 94; VII, 78.

Euphrates, and the Muski in turn were crowded forward by the Tabal and Kashu peoples. Sargon's antagonist was Mita of Muski, among the kings of the Hittites, now known to be Midas the Phrygian. Javan, Tubal, and Meschech were traders with the Phœnicians, dealing in slaves and articles of brass (Ezek. 27 : 13). Among the occupants of Sheol were the warriors of Meshech and Tubal (Ezek. 32 : 26). Isaiah 66 : 19 mentions among the numerous peoples upon whom judgment is passed, Tubal and Javan, to which the Septuagint adds Meshech. The writer of Ezekiel 38 had before him the same group of peoples named in Gen. 10 : 2, 3; in fact, in his eschatological picture, he may have thrown together into one movement these far-off peoples of the northern limits of civilization as known about the eighth century, B. C.

Tiras is supposed by some writers to have been a people on the west coast of Asia Minor, somewhere in the region of Lydia and Troy, and possibly identical with the piratical sea-people of the Ægean Sea named *Turusha* in Egyptian inscriptions of Merneptah, so-called Pharaoh of the Exodus, of the thirteenth century, B. C.

Genesis 10 : 3: "The sons of Gomer: Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah."

Ashkenaz is correctly identified with the Ashkuza (*Ashguzai* and *Ishkuzai*) of the cuneiform inscriptions. In the time of Esarhaddon they were settled southeast of Lake Urumiyah and east of the Cimmerians. In the seventh century B. C. they were for a time allied through marriage with Esarhaddon king of Assyria against the northern hordes. Jeremiah 51 : 27 calls together the

kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz, and in verse 28, the Medes, against Babylon.

Riphath has no plausible identification as yet.

Togarmah, probably the peoples of *Tilgarimmu*, north of the Taurus mountains near the river Halys, are mentioned by Sargon and Sennacherib in connection with their campaigns into the north country. Ezekiel 27 : 14 names their land as a source of horses, war-horses, and mules for Tyrian traders.

Genesis 10 : 4: "The sons of Javan: Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim."

Elishah is located by some in the region of Carthage in northern Africa, relying in some degree on the legend that Carthage was founded by Dido-Elissa. Ezekiel 27 : 7 specifies the isles of Elishah as a source of blue and purple for awnings. The Targum locates it in southern Italy or Sicily.

Tarshish is definitely identified as *Tartessus*, a mining district or city in southern Spain, whence the Tyrians secured silver, iron, tin, and lead (Ezek. 27 : 12). This was the farthest west limit named for the Tyrian sea-craft. That Tarshish was near islands (Isa. 60 : 9; Ps. 72 : 10) makes it highly probable that it was in Southern Spain—possibly near the Balearic isles.

Kittim has been generally regarded as the name for Cyprus, the largest island in the eastern Mediterranean, and derived from the old city in the southeast corner of it called *Kition*. Doubt is now expressed regarding this identification, since Kittim in Daniel 11 : 30 is Rome. In Isaiah 23 : 1 and 12, Cyprus would answer the requirements better than any other far-away island in the

Mediterranean. In addition it would be an appropriate identification because it was colonized by Greeks, and ruled by them for some centuries.

Dodanim is read *Rodanim* in 1 Chronicles 1 : 7, and is sometimes identified with the island of Rhodes, one of the beautiful islands of the Ægean Sea.

93. Hamites. Genesis 10 : 6: "The sons of Ham: Cush, Mizraim, Put, and Canaan."

Cush was Ethiopia, the modern Nubia and part of the Sudan as far as Khartum, the junction of the White and Blue Nile rivers. Tirhakah was the first Nubian king to break into the history of Israel as king of Cush (Isa. 37 : 9). The term Cush often included the western strip of Arabia as well as the Sinai peninsula. As evidence of this, the wife of Moses is called a Cushite (Num. 12 : 1). Other passages naming Cushites are Isaiah 45 : 14; Habakkuk 3 : 7.

Mizraim was Egypt; see Chapter II.

Put was the kingdom of Punt, embracing a strip of territory on both sides of the Red Sea and reaching down along the east coast of Africa. Glaser thinks that Punt included the entire population of southern Arabia and the east coast of Africa.

Canaan was one of the slave-peoples of the earth, slaves of the Semites, just the thing a writer would say about him in Palestine in the eighth century B. C. (Gen. 9 : 27; Josh. 9 : 22-27).

Genesis 10 : 7: "The sons of Cush: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabteca; and the sons of Raamah: Sheba and Dedan."

This entire group of names is to be located somewhere

in the Arabian peninsula. Havilah is placed by Glaser in central and northeast Arabia. Sabtah is thought to be *Sabota*, capital of Hadramaut (Hazarmaveth, verse 26). Raamah is named in 1 Chronicles 1 : 9 with Seba. Dedan was found in Ezekiel's day on the border of Edom (Ezek. 25 : 13; Jer. 25 : 23).

94. Nimrod. Genesis 10 : 8: "And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before Jehovah; wherefore it is said, Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before Jehovah."

This is rather an abrupt introduction of what seems to be an individual in the midst of politico-geographical items. It is added as a supplement to the list of the sons of Cush in verse 7, to which the writer seems to put him as belonging to the group of those attached to Arabia. He was apparently a hero and mighty ruler-hunter. He has been variously identified among the great figures of mythical lore. The most plausible identification is with Gilgamesh in the Babylonian legend² where he is called two-thirds god, one-third man. His achievements as a hero of great strength and daring are most vividly portrayed on seal-cylinders, on palace reliefs, and in the fervid poetry of the epic. The familiar figure is that of a stoutly built man with long beard, long curly locks, manhandling a full-grown lion as if he were a dog. Accompanying cuts will visualize the facts (Figs. 52, 53, 54).

Genesis 10 : 10: "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar."

Babel was the city of Babylon, written *Bâb-ilî*, that is

² Table IX, Col. 2, 16.

"gate of God." It was one of the oldest cities of Babylonia, both in Sumerian and Semitic literature. Even in the time of Sargon I, about 2800 B. C., Babylon was a notable city. After Hammurabi unified Babylonia (ca. 2100 B. C.) it became the capital of the kingdom and intermittently occupied that place down to Persian times. The local divinity was Marduk so frequently mentioned in proper names and in the inscriptions of that metropolis. The Old Testament narratives would be incomplete without Babylon.

Erech was the *Uruk* of early Babylonia, now mainly covered in the ruins of Warka. Gilgamesh-Nimrod celebrated this place by the performance of some of his giant deeds. The chief deities of Erech were Anu and Ishtar.

Accad was one of the centers over which Nimrod is said to have exercised sway in Babylonia (Gen. 10 : 10). It was the district of northern Babylonia in distinction from Sumer or southern Babylonia. Such a city as Accad is as yet not identified.

Calneh in Babylonia is variously explained. It is certainly not the Calneh of Syria (Amos 6 : 2) nor is it Calno in Isaiah 10 : 9. Several scholars endeavor so to modify the form as to read Nippur, which is one of the oldest cities of Babylonia.

Shinar is thought by some to have been located on the upper Euphrates, and to be identified with the name *Shankhar*, "a country of the city of Shankhar,"³ and not to have been all Babylonia as formerly regarded.

Genesis 10 : 11, 12 : "Out of that land he went forth into Assyria and builded Nineveh, and Rehoboth-Ir, and

³ Weber, *VAB* II, p. 1082.

Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah (the same is the great city)."

Assyria is probably the district in which all the cities of the two verses are located, called the land of Nimrod in Micah 5 : 6 (R. V.).

Nineveh was the capital of Assyria located on the Tigris river in the late period of Assyrian history. Its importance will be often emphasized in the subsequent pages of this volume. The residence of several Assyrian kings, it was the royal city, and the object of attack of every enemy power. It finally fell before the combined armies of the Medes and Babylonians in 612 B. C.

Rehoboth-Ir means the "open squares of the city"; it may have been the suburbs of Nineveh, or, as some suppose, the area of modern Mosul across the Tigris from Nineveh.

Calah was the important city of Calah about twenty miles south of Nineveh near the juncture of the Tigris river and the upper Zab river. Its ruins are the mound *Nimrud*, excavated by Layard, Rassam, and others.

Resen was between Nineveh and Nimrud, but its site has not been found.

Genesis 10 : 13, 14: "And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim (whence went forth the Philistines), and Caphtorim."

This group is made up of the whole "-im" family of tribes and peoples bordering Egypt and the Mediterranean basin. *Ludim* are thought to have been the Lydians of Asia Minor whom Cyrus severely handled. *Pathrusim* were doubtless some tribe bordering on Upper Egypt, or

Pathros. The other "*ims*" are still matters of conjecture; even the *Caphtorim* may have been Cretans, from whose island came the Philistines.

The descendants of Canaan (Gen. 10: 15-20) seem to include all the territory on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea proper. *Sidon* was one of the chief cities of the Phœnicians, so important indeed that the Phœnicians often called themselves Sidonians. The *Hittites* have been discussed (§55-58). The *Jebusites* were occupying Jerusalem when David attacked it. The *Amorites* may have been a colony of the peoples of *Amurri*, centered about the Lebanon mountains. The *Girgashites* and *Hivites* were small local tribes of Canaanites. The *Arkites* are mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters as *Ar-ka-ta*, people in northern Phœnicia. *Sinites* may have been another tribe of Phœnicia, called *Siannu*. *Arvadites* were the inhabitants of the island of Arvad in northern Phœnicia, called *Aruadia* in the inscriptions. The Amarna letters mention them, and Ezekiel 27 : 8, 11 designates them as sailors and brave warriors. *Zemarites* were doubtless the peoples of *Semirrai*, in north Syria near Hamath, conquered by Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.). *Hamathites* were the peoples of Hamath; Ja'ubidi king of Hamath with Arvad, Semirrai, Damascus, and Samaria rebelled against Sargon in 720 B. C.

95. Semites. The Semites occupied such a conspicuous place in southwestern Asia that they claim especial attention in this table. The sons of Shem were Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram.

Elam was politically and geographically a Semite, closely allied with the Sumerians and Babylonians in cul-

ture and life. They occupied such a strategic site that Babylonia was often at their mercy.

Asshur has been described in Chapter III.

Arpachshad is an abnormality in formation. Its occurrence next to *Asshur* leads us to expect to find it somewhere in northern Babylonia. But no certain identification has been made.

Lud was probably *Lubdi* high up on the mountains between the Tigris and Euphrates. At least two Assyrian kings mention that territory as in the region of their campaigns.

Aram, of course, embraced Syria, north Syria, and reached even across the Euphrates—the country of the *Aramæans*.

The remainder of the chapter is occupied mainly by a list of heroes, mingled with a few Arabic provinces or districts. *Hazarmaveth* as *Hadramaut* has been mentioned. *Sheba* and *Ophir* were rather romantic lands whence came gold to the peoples of the Mediterranean basin. *Jobab* is identified by some as the Arabian province *Jareb*. *Mesha* and *Sephar* are still unknowns.

This so-called Table of Nations is a marvel of comprehensiveness for the eighth century B. C. The author groups the peoples of his day in such a way as to locate for us the chief descendants of the sons of Noah, racially and geographically, though not always linguistically. The entire list of names has not yet been definitely located, but the progress made in recent years has surpassed all expectations. New light has come from many sources, and we expect in the not distant future every name to take its place among the families of that early day.

96. **Tower of Babel.** A mental characteristic of the Hebrew mind was to present results, and then later on to give the causes thereof. The tenth chapter of Genesis locates the nations scattered upon the face of the earth, and the eleventh chapter tells how they happened to be so widely dispersed from their quiet settlement in the "land of Shinar." Their alleged purpose (Gen. 11 : 4) in building a tower was to establish a fixed center around which they could perfect an organization, to hold them from wandering over the whole earth. In erecting the towers on their temples the Babylonians intended thereby to attract and hold the devotees of such temples, and to impress them with the benevolent and protective character of their gods. Hammurabi (2.42ff.) says the temple tower of Eanna in Uruk "was the protector of the land, the one who gathered together the scattered population of Isin." The same idea is expressed many times in the inscriptions that describe the tower, which stood as the central point in the temple complex of each Babylonian city.

These prosperous peoples in Shinar said: "Come, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top (may reach) unto heaven, and let us make a name; lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth" (Gen. 11 : 4). Each city of Babylonia, through thousands of years, built a *ziggurat*, really a tower with steps or stories. Nebuchadnezzar lifted the ziggurat of Etemenanki until it rivaled in height the very heaven itself. Indeed the translation of the name is "the temple of the foundation of heaven and earth."

The method of constructing such a building in a stone-

less, limeless plain as Shinar seems to have been, is pictured by the writer in vivid language (Gen. 11 : 3); it is almost a duplicate of what the Babylonians would have said under similar conditions. The remains of towers uncovered in Babylonia show that their walls were built of the same kind of bricks, burnt and unburnt, that the Shinar community used.

97. Kind of Tower. The Sumerians, and the Babylonians after them, built ziggurats of from three to seven

stories or stages; each was either horizontal with steps to the next story above, or spiral, winding around to the top. The tower of Pisa in Italy mildly represents the spiral method of reaching the top. From the time of Gudea (2450 B. C.), ruler of Lagash in Babylonia, down to Nebuchadrezzar II (604-561 B. C.) the regular seven-staged tower was the center of the temple and of the city in which it was located. Rawlinson found remains of different colors in ruins which he examined at Borsippa, which led him to conjecture that originally each story was decorated with a different color. On the top of these towers were constructed the shrines of the gods from whose temple the tower arose. Scores of intensely interesting passages in the cuneiform records preserve descriptions of the building and restoration of these towers by kings loyal to the local divinities of the cities where they ruled or resided. Each of the great cities of Babylonia almost revolved around the temple of its chief god, surmounted by a tower which was the pride and center of all its religious zeal. These architectural piles of brick, always prominent, sometimes ornamental, were taken over by the successors of the Babylonians-Assyrians in

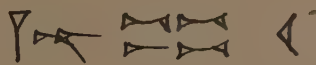
the Euphrates-Tigris valley, and were probably the originals of the minaret of the mosque of the Mohammedan world. No less were they the forerunners of the towers or steeples of the Christian church of the last nineteen hundred years.

**98. Confu-
sion of
Tongues.**

The so-called "confusion of tongues" has no exact parallel in Babylonia. But there is peculiar significance attached to the moral acts of the ruler. In one text ⁴ we find "If the king does not speak righteousness, but aligns himself on the side of evil, his protecting divinity will abandon Esharra, the temple of all the gods." Apparently, in the Genesis record, God came down and rebuked the pride of the builders, and that by a method which completely frustrated their plans. There are such stories among other peoples but none worth our attention at this point.

⁴ Chedorlaomer text, II, Reverse, 6 : 9.

NOTE ON FIG. 163, tail-piece below: Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, kings of Assyria, were well acquainted with this Egyptian-Ethiopian king, named in the Old Testament (2 Kings 19 : 9). His name occurs written in Hebrew, Egyptian, and Assyrian, of the latter two of which this is a facsimile.


 Det. Tar - Ku - u


 Taharka





From Breasted, *Ancient Times*; courtesy of Ginn & Co.

CHAPTER IX

CANAAN IN PRE-ISRAELITISH TIMES

99. Canaan, Focal Center. Interest in the Old Testament world focalizes on Canaan. The Old Testament itself looked upon that small area as the stage upon which Israel played her chief rôle in the moral and political tragedies of the last millennium

NOTE ON FIG. 114, head-piece above: Originally pirates or warriors from the island of Crete, the Philistines settled on the southwest seacoast of Palestine (§179) and some of them attempted to invade Egypt. Ramses III, the last of the Egyptian emperors, about 1200 B. C., took them captive. Note how securely their hands and arms are bound in front of them, behind them and over their heads. Their peculiar head-dress and their scant clothing locate them racially and socially. This relief is on the second pylon at Medinet Habu, Thebes.

B. C. Its proximity to the great powers of early days lays upon us the burden of discovering the relations which they sustained to each other. What of the reach of Egypt up into *Canaan-Syria*? When, how long, and with what results did the powers on the Nile lay their strong hands on this helpless little land?

What Asiatic peoples in the spirit of adventure or conquest wandered into the far Westland to the shores of the great sea? Or what surplus people of Asia Minor roamed down along the eastern shore-line of the Mediterranean Sea to find a hospitable piece of ground to respond to their labor? Who were these adventurous pioneers, and what did they bring to and what take away from the peoples whom they found in this strategic highway of the nations, Canaan?

**100. Primitive
Inhabitants.**

The primitive peoples of Palestine change with the discoveries of each successive generation. When Abram migrated to the land of Canaan, "the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen. 12 : 6). After Abram and Lot returned from Egypt it is said, "the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelt then in the land" (Gen. 13 : 7). Sodom and Gomorrah were cities of the plain apparently adjoining the Dead Sea, with a population which is described in these terms, "Now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners against Jehovah exceedingly" (Gen. 13 : 13). So important were these five cities of the plain that Chedorlaomer king of Elam, or his predecessor, had conquered them thirteen years previously and levied on them an annual tribute. In this punitive campaign of the king of Elam with his allied forces, we have a glimpse, probably

true, of some of the primitive inhabitants of Canaan at that period. As his army swept down through the country east of the Jordan valley, he



Fig. 4. Amorites

The chief inhabitants of Canaan-Syria at the time of the invasion of the Hebrews were probably Amorites, a hardy mountain people of vigorous physical build and aggressive natures. They frequently fought the Egyptian invaders of southwestern Asia and made such an impression upon them that Ramses II had these and other faces carved on a pylon of his mortuary temple at Thebes, about 1225 B. C.

smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim, and the Zuzim in Ham, and the Emim in the plain of Kiriathaim, and the Horites in their mount Seir, unto El-paran, which is by the wilderness. And they returned, and came to En-mishpat (the same is Kadesh), and smote all the country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites, that dwelt in Hazazon-tamar (Gen. 14 : 5-7).

After the allied eastern monarchs had overrun and reduced that list of tribes and nomadic peoples they cen-

tered their assaults upon the five rebellious city-states, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar. Chedor-laomer king of Elam, Tidal king of Goiim, Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar (Gen. 14 : 9) completely routed the western allies, and started back to their homelands loaded with booty and captives. At Hobah "on the left hand of Damascus," Abram and his Amorite confederates (Fig. 4) overtook and surprised the invaders and recovered the spoil in their possession (Gen. 14 : 15, 16).

The peculiar primitive peoples of Canaan who appear in the progress of the Elamite campaign are known in part from other statements. "Rephaim" was a term used in general of "giants." Og, king of Bashan, at the time of the Exodus was "of the remnant of the Rephaim" (Deut. 3 : 11); so were the Anakim in Hebron, the Emim of Moab, and the Zamzummin in Ammon (Deut. 2 : 10, 11). The Israelite spies regarded themselves as grasshoppers in their sight (Num. 13 : 33). The several references to these giant peoples and primitive inhabitants, including the cavemen of Mount Seir, regard them as the remnants of earlier peoples whose occupation long antedated the coming of the Israelites into this region.

101. Light from Babylonia. This strange old story reads like a record of an early Babylonian campaign. Its *naïveté* is one of the best evidences of its genuineness. Its recital of the names of the original peoples of the land is so natural and artless that the story commends itself to the keenest critic. Such early accounts can no longer be regarded as mythical or prehistoric.

Light from the east has entirely dissipated such a suggestion. We now know that back in the dawn of history in Babylonia and Egypt, long before the days of Abraham, just such military campaigns were launched and carried out. The four allied kings who made this campaign of conquest into Canaan are not entire strangers to the student of early Babylonian history. The narrative (Gen. 14 : 1, 2) takes the form of a Babylonian chronicle, and hence we may expect to find some features about the names which will help us identify the characters in the event.

Amraphel king of Shinar has been quite possibly identified as *Hammurabi* (2123-2081 B. C.) of the first dynasty of Babylon about whom we shall have more to say in another chapter. *Arioch* occurs in the so-called Chedorlaomer texts twice, in the forms, *Eri-e-a-ku*, and *Eri-e-ku-a*, father of Dur-mah-ilani. The former identification of *Arioch* with Rim-Sin king of Larsa cannot be proved. Rim-Sin and Warad-Sin were brothers, sons of the Elamite Kudur-Mabug, who as lord of Babylonia, resided in *Larsa*, the Biblical *Ellasar*.

Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, has two Elamite elements in his name, *Kudur*, found in such Elamite names as Kudur-Mabug; *laomer* is only the softening down of the name of an Elamite goddess, *Lagamar*.

Tidal, king of Goiim, is likewise found on the Chedorlaomer texts in the form of *Tu-ud-hul-a* who raided and plundered Babylonia.

The names of the five kings of the city-states in the plain of the Jordan are unlike any Babylonian equivalents and are as yet beyond the range of feasible explanation.

102. Early Babylonian Sway. We now turn to the great powers, aside from the Amraphel campaign above mentioned, which were factors in determining the character of the peoples and control of early Canaan. The earliest known mention of this "Westland" of which Canaan was so large a part, is found in records of the reign of Sargon I of about 2800 B. C. This Sargon I and Naram-Sin, his son, ruled from Elam in the east to the Mediterranean Sea in the west; from Armenia in the north to Arabia in the south. Sargon overthrew the kings on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea to the forests of cedar and the silver mountains (Taurus in Asia Minor). The next evidence of Babylonian sway of the Westland is found in the records of Gudea, Patesi of Lagash (2450 B. C.). He states in several inscriptions that he brought cedar timber and stones from the cedar mountains, from Amanus, and Basalla, mountains of Amurru, from Tidanu a mountain of Amurru, that is, from the Westland. Hammurabi calls himself "king of Martu," Westland, but his sway did not reach south of the Litany river. It is probable that the rulers of Canaan at this period were the Hittites, who later invaded Babylonia about 1933-24 B. C.

The so-called Amurru peoples of the Westland were probably the Amorites of the Old Testament who were so prominent among the various occupants of the land just prior to, and during the conquest of, the land by the Hebrews. These Babylonian overlords after Hammurabi's day exercised no political influence over Canaan proper before the settlement of the Hebrews. Of course there was a moral increment that sifted down along

the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Perhaps there is a trace of the religion of Babylonia discoverable in some of the proper names of Canaan. Anu the god of the sky may be represented in the feminine form Anat, Anathoth. May not Bethlehem be Beth-Lakhamu, the primeval Chaldean god? The Canaanitish Moloch is the Babylonian Malik; and Dagon was an early Chaldean divinity in the same pantheon with Anu. Beth-Shemesh is none other than the house of Shamash, the Babylonian sun-god.

**103. Early
Contacts
with Egypt.**

The nearest nation to Canaan was Egypt, and from here we should expect the first contacts. The earliest mention of Canaan-Syria in Egyptian annals is found in the report that king Snefru of the Fourth dynasty (about 2930 B. C.) sent ships to Syria to get cedar timber for his temple buildings. The first military campaign against Canaan and Syria is attributed to Pepi I of the Sixth dynasty (about 2550 B. C.) who wished to secure the Sinai peninsula and a safe road to the Lebanons. The story of this drive seems to assume that the inhabitants were either old enemies, or such criminals for obstructing their advance, that they had to be savagely treated. The next five hundred years of Egyptian history allowed Canaan-Syria to develop a large number of city-states unhindered by military raids or campaigns from the Nile.

**104. Sinuhe,
Traveler.**

Stories of travel were especially attractive to the wide-awake Egyptians of the Middle Empire. Out of the half-dozen extant from that period the one that most interests Bible students is the life of Sinuhe, while wandering as an exile in Canaan-

Syria during the reign of Sesostris I (1980-35 B. C.). The story is told in a simple, semi-poetical style, in such a natural manner as to win confidence in its reality.

Sinuhe, a nobleman, was with the crown prince in a military campaign against the Libyans, when word came of the death of the king. Sesostris I rushes to the capital to make sure of his claim to the throne, while his bosom friend Sinuhe flees the country. His story is probably the earliest record extant about the customs and manners of pre-Israelitish Canaan. I shall give only selections.¹ In his flight he passed the border guards to get out of Egypt. In his haste he says:

When I had reached the lake of Kemwer (=north end of Suez),
 I fell down for thirst, fast came my breath;
 my throat was hot,
 I said, "This is the taste of death."
 I upheld my heart, I drew my limbs together.
 As I heard the sound of the lowing of cattle,
 I beheld the Bedwin.
 That chief among them, who had been in Egypt, recognized me.
 He gave me water, he cooked for me milk.
 I went with him to his tribe;
 good was that which they did (for me).
 One land sent me on to another,
 I loosed for Suan (*Sun*),
 I arrived at Kedem;²
 I spent a year and a half there.
 Emuienshi, that sheik of Upper Tenu [Retenu!], brought me
 forth
 saying to me, "Happy art thou with me,
 (for) thou hearest the speech of Egypt."
 He said this (for) he knew my character,
 he had heard of my wisdom;
 the Egyptians who were there with him, bare witness of me.

¹ Breasted's translation, *Records*, I, pp. 236ff.

² Cf. Kedemah, Gen. 25 : 15.

The sheik now questions Sinuhe about the reasons for his flight, and he replies evasively, concluding with a hymn of praise for the king. The sheik then continues:

“Behold, thou shalt now abide with me;
good is that which I shall do for thee.”
He put me at the head of his children;
he married me to his eldest daughter;
he made me select for myself of his land;
of the choicest of that which he had,
on his boundary with another land.
It was a goodly land, named Yaa;³
there were figs in it and vines;
more plentiful than water was its wine;
copious was its honey, plenteous its oil;
all fruits were upon its trees.
Barley was there, and spelt;
without end, all cattle.
Moreover, great was that which came to me,
which came for love of me,
when he appointed me sheik of the tribe,
from the choicest of his land.
I portioned the daily bread,
and wine for every day;
cooked flesh, and fowl in roast;
besides the wild goats of the hills,
which were trapped for me, and (brought) to me;
besides that which my dogs captured for me.
There was much—made for me,
and milk in every sort of cooked dish.
I spent many years,
my children became strong,
each the mighty man of his tribe.
The messenger going north,
or passing southward to the court (of Egypt),
he turned in to me.
For I had all men turn in (to me).

³ Is this Aiah in Gen. 36 : 34?

The story proceeds with deeds of the personal prowess of the hero, and his return to Egypt where he made peace with the friend of his youth, the king.

This story of the Egyptian nobleman's experience in Canaan in the home of an Egyptian who had migrated to this near-by country and with the sheik of the land, was used for several hundred years as a model of classical literature in the schools of Egypt. The Bedwin sheik in Sinuhe's story is a good type of those Canaanite-Syrian Bedwin who were not in the least barbarians, but intelligent shrewd inhabitants of the land. The so-called Semitic family which wandered into Egypt about 1900 B. C. is pictured on the walls of Benihasan. According to the appended account 37 Bedwin went to Egypt under the guidance of Absha.⁴ That there was easy and frequent interchange of visits, possibly by merchants, between Egypt and Canaan is evident from the reference in Sinuhe's account to the travelers to Egypt who called on him. (See "Asiatics Entering Egypt," Fig. 14.)

105. Armies Overrun Canaan. During the reign of Sesostri III (1887-1849 B. C.) a military campaign of conquest was carried up into Syria, with slight permanent results. This may have been an accessory cause of a counter drive of Asiatics into Egypt. At any rate, the land of the Nile was entered about 1700 B. C. by a few determined visitors who established themselves at Avaris in the Delta. Although Egyptian sources of information have been rigidly censored, we find these peoples are called the Amu. But Manetho called them Hyksos. After about 150 years of their desul-

⁴ Is this Abishai in 2 Sam. 10 : 10?

tory ruling in Egypt, during which they introduced horses, chariots, and other improved warfare, they were driven back into Canaan-Syria from which they had come. Ahmose (1580-1557 B. C.) who accomplished the task

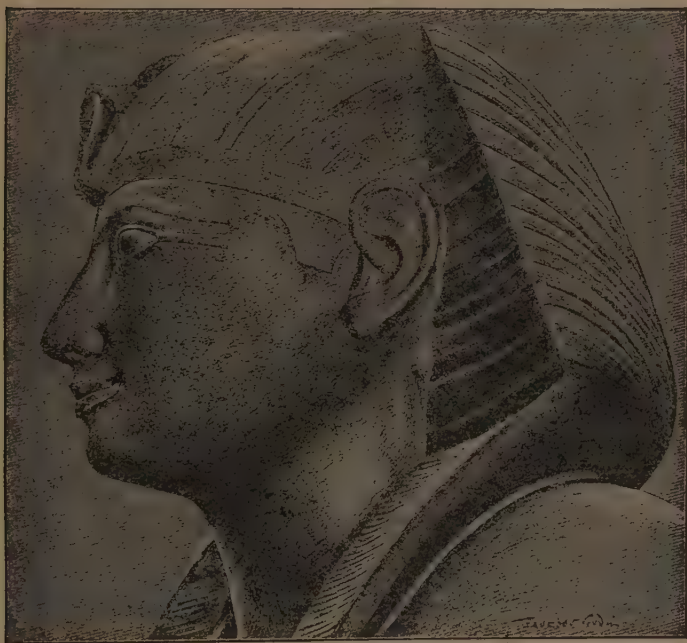


Fig. 158. Thutmose III.

He was the "Alexander the Great" of Egypt. His seventeen campaigns into Southwestern Asia yielded him (\$105) untold booty and multitudes of prisoners (Fig. 159) sculptured on his pylons at Thebes. Far and away he was the greatest Pharaoh on the throne of Egypt, by some thought to be the oppressor of the Hebrews.

laid siege to Sharuhén (Josh. 19 : 6) for six years. He overran Canaan (Egyptian, *Sahi*) and made it feel the weight of his authority. Thutmose I and II likewise car-

ried expeditions against Syria (Egyptian, *Retenu*). Thutmose III (about 1501-1447) waged successful warfare against the entire land of Canaan-Syria. In the twenty-second year of his reign he crossed the plain of Gaza, and overthrew at Megiddo the combined armies of the Syrian allies led by the prince of Kadesh. Damascus and the Phœnician coast cities as far as Arvad, fell before his assaults. In his thirty-third year his army reached the Euphrates and carried its conquests up that stream. Babylon is said to have sent him tribute. In his forty-second year he met and defeated the combined troops of the allies at Kadesh. This final battle made him master of all Canaan and Syria. On his triumphal return to Egypt he recorded on the temple walls at Karnak a list of 367 cities that he had captured, 119 of which were located in the countries along the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Among these we find Achzib, Beroth, Beth-Anath, Chinnereth, Damascus, Gibeah, Hamath, Hazor, Heshbon, Jibleam, Laish, Megiddo, Ophrah, and Shunem; of harbor cities we find Accho, Beirut, and Joppa. Also as a section of country the Negeb; and as two peculiar names Jacob-el and Joseph-el.

106. Fatal Relations. But these unprecedented conquests in Asia became remotely the cause of the downfall of this Eighteenth dynasty. The friendly relations which had been established with the Asiatic peoples culminated within about a score of years after Thutmose's death in a royal marriage. His grandson Thutmose IV took to wife a daughter of the king of the Mitanni on the Euphrates, thus cementing good relations with that far-off land. Amenhotep III took to wife a



strong queenly woman Tiy, whose character and counsel did much to strengthen her husband's position as king. Amenhotep IV, his son, part Asiatic by descent, probably as his grandfather before him had done, secured a beautiful Asiatic princess as a wife.

This young part-Asiatic king became so infatuated with the Semitic religion of his grandmother and wife that he transplanted it to Egypt, and set up at several places its altars and shrines, but mainly at Tell el-Amarna, the last residence of this Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton).

**107. Tell
el-Amarna
Light.**

Just at this point in the history we have received an unexpected light from that residential and religious center of the so-called heretic king. In 1887-88 a peasant woman by accident found at Tell el-Amarna several hundred clay tablets written in the cuneiform language of Babylonia. These documents, dating from about 1400-1350 B. C., were written by governors, rulers, officers, and individuals located in cities, villages, and fortresses on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea and Mitanni on the upper Euphrates River and the kings of Babylon, to these pro-Asiatic kings Amenhotep III and IV of Egypt.

How profound must have been the subtle authority in these settlements and communities that led them to adopt the cuneiform language of Babylonia as their official tongue in correspondence—almost equalled today when a treaty between China and Russia is written in the English language. If one should inquire how widely such a custom was in vogue, we reply by giving a few of the places from which such official correspondence was sent to Egypt. Among other cities we find Accho, Arkata, Ash-

kelon, Beirut, Byblos (= Gubla) Damascus, Gezer, Jerusalem, Lachish, Tunip, Tyre, Sidon. From individuals there are such as Aziru of Amurru, Shubandi, city prince of Southern Canaan; Tushratta of Mitanni to Amenhotep III, and to the wife of the same king of Egypt; from

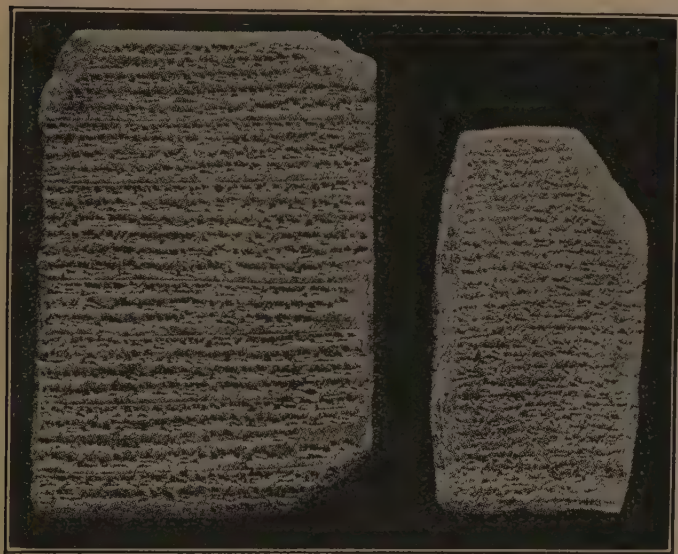


Fig. 154. A Tell el-Amarna Tablet

In the fifteenth century B. C., Egypt for a long time ruled Canaan-Syria. The letters that passed between her rulers and their subject kings were written in the cuneiform script of Babylonia. About 350 of them were found by a peasant woman at Tell el-Amarna (§107). After being roughly handled by dealers for some time, they finally found their homes in the great museums of the world, and are now published and available for students.

Burnaburiash a Kassite king of Babylon to Amenhotep IV the so-called heretic king of Egypt.

These letters reflect the political activity which was shaking the ruling power of Egypt in Canaan to its very foundations.

108. The Habiri.

In seven or eight passages in the letters from Jerusalem, mention is made of the desperate straits of its ruler, because of the activities of the people whom he calls Habiri. He says, "the Habiri are plundering all the lands of the king" (of Egypt); "the land is falling into the hands of the Habiri"; whereas formerly the Pharaoh successfully pushed up into Syria, now the cities of the Pharaoh and his deputies are being lost to the Habiri, as for example Zimrida of Lachish and Japtik in Zilu. Then in other letters from the cities of Canaan, Syria, and Phœnicia, appeals are made to the Pharaoh to send troops, to assign garrisons, for the defense of such places against the SA-GAZ, the barbarians of the desert and frontier territory. From parallel passages it has been definitely determined that the SA-GAZ and the Habiri of the Jerusalem letters are one and the same peoples, that they are none other than the nomadic Hebrews who were making their first irruption into this Westland, into Canaan their future home. Boehl⁵ has found specific proof of the above in the Boghaz-Keui tablets. Other important revelations regarding national and international relations are brought out in these illuminating letters of a period about which we formerly had little or no knowledge. Their light on Egypt will appear in our study of Egypt's influence on Canaan in those early centuries.

109. Babylonian Trade.

The trade relations of Canaan receive new light from the same Tell el-Amarna letters. Burnaburiash, king of Babylonia, implores Amenhotep IV to conclude a treaty with him, so that the

⁵ *Kananäer und Hebräer*, p. 87.



Fig. 15. Asiatic Prisoners in Egypt under The Empire

Thutmose III made seventeen military campaigns into Southwestern Asia. These lines of prisoners were part of the captives taken in one of them. They are now passing from the prisons to the prison-pens at Thebes, the capital. Notice their long beards and hair, their heavy clothing, their hands secured in oval wooden manacles attached by thongs to their necks; they are arranged in pairs between pairs of clean-shaven, scantily clothed, neatly tonsured, Egyptian guards. These Egyptians hold in their hands thongs tied to the manacles. Observe the woman carrying in her own way two children, and held by the wrist by one of the guards.

merchants of the former may safely carry on their business in *Kinahhi*, the name of Canaan in Burnaburiash's letters. It appears that B.'s tradesmen had been attacked



Fig. 159. Lists of Towns in Asia Taken by Thutmose III

On the walls of the temple at Karnak, Thutmose had displayed in three places the names of 119 towns captured on his first campaigns into Syria, a result of his later campaigns, 248 other places are named on the same walls. These cover natives from far beyond the Euphrates river which he claims to have crossed (§105).

by highwaymen and slain and their wares and gold carried away. B. appeals for punishment of the murderers and reparation for the loss attending the event. From

the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea the Phœnician cities, chiefly Tyre and Sidon, stretched their tentacles of trade not only through Canaan but to the ends of the known world. The Tell el-Amarna letters speak of the wealth of Tyre, of the ships of Arvad, and of the Tyrian sailors whose business carried them over the sea. Phœnician ships are pictured on the Egyptian monuments as tied up at the quays in Egypt unloading and loading articles of trade—about the date of the Amarna letters. Out of the mounds of excavated ruins of Canaan have been taken many articles that could have reached those shores only through commercial transactions. For example, at Lachish Bliss found Baltic amber in a collection of scarabs of the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty.

110. Fall of Eighteenth Dynasty. The devotion of the last kings of the Eighteenth dynasty to the sun-god of Asia stirred up the anger of the priests of Egypt.

The old hatred shown the Hyksos was aroused, and the heretic king withdrew from the sacred city of Thebes. At the modern Tell el-Amarna he set up his shrines, his worship of Asiatic deities, as over against the state religion of Egypt, which was sacredly guarded by the priesthood of the land. This heresy in the king of the land could not be long tolerated. Finally, through the Tell el-Amarna letters, we learn that civil war was breaking out, that enemies from the north, the Hittites, were advancing, and that general dissolution of the empire was in progress. In the midst of this storm of protest, of secession, and of aggression, Amenhotep IV, or Ikhnaton, died. But his sepulchre was profaned, his mummy rent in pieces, and his sacrilegious city destroyed.

Asiatics who were implicated in his heretical propagandism were forced to flee for their lives, or suffer the penalty of death. This chaotic condition of affairs ceased only at the rise of a new house, a new dynasty, the Nineteenth, under Harmhab a nobleman.

111. Nineteenth Dynasty. The Nineteenth dynasty was distinguished by the reigns of Seti I and Ramses II. Seti I followed in the footsteps of Thutmose III, the "Alexander the Great of the Egyptians," by carrying his arms into Asia, across Canaan and



Fig. 139. Head of the Mummy of Seti I

This is the best preserved of all the royal mummies recovered. It was found at Thebes in 1881, and gives a view of the face of the first great king of the Nineteenth dynasty, and father of Ramses II who figures so largely in the wars against southwestern Asia, and in the stupendous building operations of this dynasty.

Syria, and securing control of the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Seti held with a firm hand his grip on the cities of this much overrun territory, Canaan. His son and successor, Ramses II, not only maintained his father's authority, but completely organized the government into a strong empire, embodying in it the control of the most

of Syria. Poor Canaan was ground under the heel of his armies time and again, as they swept northward to contend with the one rival power in Asia Minor, the Hittites. Finally these two world powers met at Kadesh in a fiercely fought duel which ended in a drawn battle. Ramses' sixty-seven active years of reign included building schemes in all Egypt that surpassed his predecessors, and probably included among his workmen the Hebrew settlers whom he had requisitioned as slaves; in other words, Ramses II is thought to have been the oppressor of the Hebrews. He likewise built canals, storehouses, palaces, and temples. Of the thirty-two obelisks in Egypt, he is said to have erected in whole or in part twenty-one. Of the eight ruined temples in Thebes, he built in whole or in part seven. His activity led him to cut off from temple inscriptions the names of his predecessors and to cut in their places his own name.

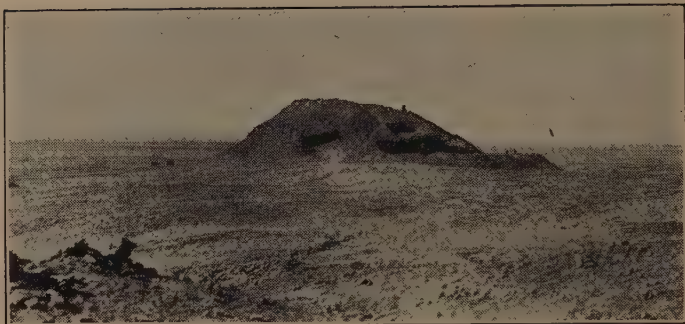
To perpetuate his authority and that of Egypt, Ramses had organized and equipped an effective standing army, garrisons of which he maintained in his foreign provinces, notably Canaan-Syria.

112. **Canaan** After the death of Ramses about 1225 B. C.,
in 1200 B. C. Merneptah came to the throne, only to see the dissolution of the empire founded by his great predecessor. Anarchy and chaos in Egypt meant a certain kind of independence for the much-abused land of Canaan-Syria. The mingling and commingling of nations, peoples, tribes, and clans on its soil; of languages, customs, and religions, left an increment of life which it is impossible as yet to estimate—a kind of conglomerate as the background of the picture on which

later the Israelites appeared. Not the least in this picture was the strange religious composite of the conglomerate population of Canaan. The Canaanite beliefs and practises are just a hint at the conditions that met the Israelites when they settled down in this land in succeeding centuries.

NOTE ON FIG. 45, tail-piece below: The Egyptian archer was a light-armed warrior with a kind of helmet, with light, short clothing, a strong bow, and a quiver full of arrows. His most effective fighting was at long-distance range.





CHAPTER X

THE PATRIARCHS AND JOSEPH

113.
Ur of the
Chaldees.

Abraham migrated with members of his family from "Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. 11 : 31) to go into the land of Canaan," at the command of his God (Gen. 12 : 1) —analogous to the motives that urged Mohammed in his migrations. That once unknown place is now definitely located as the ancient ruins in southern Babylonia called Mugheir. Originally it was a port on the Persian Gulf, though today its ruins are about 150 miles inland, above the mouth of the Euphrates river—this being due to the

NOTE ON FIG. 166, head-piece above: The present appearance of Mugheir is before you. Limited excavations by the British at the close of the war, and clandestinely by the natives, have modified the appearance of the ruins. Their identity is fixed as the original home of Abraham, but they still await thorough excavations.

annual deposits of alluvia for the last 4,000 years. The patron deity of Ur was the moon-god Sin, who was likewise the chief deity of Harran. To this key-city of the northwest on the upper Euphrates, Terah with Abram his son and his caravan made a journey. Harran, meaning "road, way," stood on the great highway between the east and west, a kind of cosmopolitan center of commerce and travel.

Some contract tablets found in Babylonia recite trade deals in which one of the parties involved was a certain *Abarama*, a small farmer, who apparently cultivated the soil, paid his rent, and did other things appropriate for a farmer. These convey to us merely the prevalence of such a name among the Babylonians of that day, but do not refer to the Hebrew patriarch.

114. Abram From Harran Abram and his wife Sarah
in Canaan and his nephew Lot passed over the caravan
and Egypt. route to Canaan—the Canaan that was the
highway between Asia and Africa. Abram's
sojourn in Canaan was cut short by a famine—not unknown in that little country. Nothing is said of the inhabitants of the land in whose midst he stayed for a time, although he visited several sites that were to them sacred. To the land of plenty, the land of the Nile, he and his clan (Gen. 12 : 16) once more migrated to escape the terrors of famine in Canaan. He did just what has been done through thousands of years by the hungry and needy peoples of southwestern Asia. Whatever explanation we may give of the reception accorded Abram in Egypt, we are at least surprised that he escaped with his all. He may have crossed the border during the sway of the

Asiatics, the Hyksos (1788-1580 B. C.), who would, of course, welcome peoples from their own land. Or, it may be that as a trader, a buyer of grain, a merchant,



Fig. 14. Asiatics Entering Egypt in the Twelfth Dynasty

On the walls of his tomb at Beni-Hasan, an Egyptian nobleman had painted (about 1900 B. C.) the picture of a caravan of 37 Asiatics, Canaanites, probably traders entering Egypt, with a leader or guide (*Hak*, sheik) from the hill-country of Absha. Observe their dress, their weapons, their wares, and their countenances. They seem to be a mixture of Semitic and possibly Hittite blood. They may have been precursors of the Hyksos invasion of Egypt.

he would be regarded favorably by the ruling house. At any rate, the procedure of the Pharaoh was entirely in harmony with the ethical standards of that day. Abram's

subtle explanation of his own conduct won his point, and he and his clan in due time returned to the land of Canaan, none the worse for the fray. Abram's character is marvelously presented by the author or authors, in strange contrast with those who surrounded him.

115. Abram and Hagar. Abram's settlement in Canaan after returning from Egypt, brings him in closer contact with the inhabitants of that land. Sarah his wife gave him Hagar their maid as a concubine (Gen. 16 : 1-3), because she was incapable of bearing children. Rachel, for the same reason, gave Bilha her maid to Jacob (Gen. 30 : 1-5). We find a similar provision in the laws of Hammurabi (2123-2081 B. C.), where it says: "If a man take a priestess, and that priestess give a female slave to her husband, and she have children; if that man set his face to take a concubine, they shall not favor that man. He may not take a concubine" (No. 144). "If a man take a priestess and she does not present him with children, and he set his face to take a concubine, that man may take a concubine and bring her into his house. That concubine shall not rank with the wife" (No. 145). When Hagar saw that she would become a mother Sarah "was despised in her eyes." Sarah's attitude was precisely that specified in the code of Hammurabi. God would be the judge between them, and she (Sarah) had the right to reduce Hagar to the position of a slave. The entire proceeding regarding Hagar and her son was conducted in full accordance with the provisions of that famous code of laws promulgated by Hammurabi.

The several passages describing the conditions on which Rebekah consented to become the wife of Isaac;

that specify the terms agreed on between Laban and Jacob regarding his daughters and his flocks—all are such transcripts of the provisions of the laws of Hammurabi that the genuineness of these accounts is practically inviolate. The legal rights of the actors in these scenes must have been penned by one who was familiar with the procedure of the courts in such civilized lands as Babylonia.

116. Offering up Isaac. The offering up of Isaac has puzzled students of the Bible from time immemorial. The whole narrative breathes the spirit of

human sacrifice. This crops out in many passages of the Old Testament. These are some of the most familiar: Jephthah took an oath that would involve the sacrifice of some human being (Judg. 11 : 30ff.); Hiel built Jericho involving therein the death of his first-born (1 Kings 16 : 34); Jonathan would have perished as a result of an oath taken by Saul if the people had not interceded in his behalf (1 Sam. 14); Micah (6 : 7) asks specifically, "Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" When Abraham was lifting the knife to slay Isaac, God called to him and stayed him, and he looking about saw a ram caught by his horns in the bushes; him Abraham offered in place of Isaac.

Everywhere in antiquity we find the principle in vogue of substituting the animal offering for a required human sacrifice. Among the Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans the same kind of substitution was well known and often carried out. Apparently the test of Abraham's religious faith was the carrying out of the command of God, although he himself could not see the

outcome of it all (Hebrews 11 : 17-19). Was there anything in it that suggests that Abraham was familiar with the idea of the god Tammuz, who died each autumn and in the springtime arose from the earth again?

117. Cave of Machpelah. The purchase of a burying-place was a necessary transaction for a tribal leader or sheik who was a stranger and sojourner in the land (Gen. 23 : 4). Although this narrative came from a much later date, its age and genuineness are undoubted. Abraham acknowledges his foreign status and appeals to the generosity of the owners or rulers of that part of the land, strange to say, Hittites. Their control of the land, and their readiness to satisfy the desires of this Habiru, Hebrew, shown in the Amarna letters to be menacing the possession of the country, seems to say that the Hittites themselves were intruders and not the real owners. The refusal of Abraham to accept the burial-place as a gift, reveals his full understanding of the principles and methods in the Orient of carrying through a trade. This purchase of Abraham gave the Israelites a historical right to perpetual ownership of this cave of Machpelah. The witnesses to the deal were Hittites who passed in and out of the gate of the city of Hebron (Gen. 23 : 10). In an Oriental trade it was necessary to specify the surroundings of the cave, and especially trees, for the seller, unless so specified, claims the fruit of the trees of that season (Gen. 23 : 17, 18). The entire proceeding would almost be duplicated today in any similar deal in the Orient.

118. Jacob. Jacob was not an unusual name in Babylonian and Egyptian records. It appears on contract tablets and commercial transactions where names

of several witnesses are required. We find on one document where two witnesses gave the name of their father as *Ja-ku-ub-ilu*, Jacob-el. Another witness in Hammurabi's reign gave his father's name as *Ja-ku-bi*. When Thutmose III of Egypt conquered Canaan he tells us that he captured one city by the name of *J-c-k-b'-l-r*, which was probably the Egyptian equivalent for Jacob-el. These similarities prove to us merely the prevalence in that country of another of the names which were given two of the patriarchs cited as the progenitors of the children of Israel.

Jacob's flight to Paddan-aram was a journey to another branch of his family—that one from which his mother was brought by the servant of his grandfather Abraham (Gen. 24). It was in the region of the Euphrates, probably not far distant from Harran where Nahor settled in the migration of Abram to the land of Canaan. Not far distant was the land of the Mitanni, on the east of the Euphrates, who made a treaty with the Hittites, as related in the tablets found at Boghaz-Keui. This treaty is so similar to the terms agreed on by Laban and Jacob, that one recent writer suggests that it is possible that the author of Genesis 31 may have imitated the Boghaz-Keui document.

At the brook Jabbok Jacob's name was changed to Israel (Gen. 32 : 28). The earliest extra-Biblical form of the name is found on the victory stela of king Merneptah of Egypt, about 1200 B. C. Among the conquered peoples we find, "Israel is laid waste, its seed is no more." Its earliest occurrence in Assyrian monuments is in the records of Shalmaneser III (854 B. C.) where

Ahab is called *Sir-'la-a-a*. Jacob's journey carried him to Beth-lehem, which seems to have been wholly Babylonian, *Bit-Lakhamu*, "the house of (the god) Lakhamu," as *Bit-Shamash* was "the house of (the god) Shemesh," and *Bit-Anatu* was "the house of (the goddess) Anath."

119. Joseph Jacob's quiet occupancy of Canaan seems to have been broken into by the dreams of
Private Joseph, while still a young man. Egypt and
Citizen. Babylonia furnish a line of parallels to these unconventional incidents. Dreams have been divided into: (1) Pure dreams; (2) Allegorical dreams; (3) Incubation dreams—samples of which are found in the literatures of both Egypt and Babylonia. Joseph's dream belongs to the second class—allegorical—and pointed toward Egypt, as did Daniel's toward Babylonia.

When was Joseph sold and carried by his purchasers as a slave into Egypt? Some Egyptologists think that the lad Joseph was brought down through the fortified frontier of Egypt, and sold to Potiphar, an Egyptian in Egypt, while the sovereign and royal court was in the hands of foreigners. It is also thought that these foreigners were the Hyksos from Asia. It is significant that the first Hyksos ruler as quoted from Manetho the historian by Josephus was called *Salatis*, Aramaic *Shallit*, and that Joseph was called in Gen. 42 : 6 *hash-Shallit*, and that many centuries afterward the Assyrians named the Pharaoh *shiltanu*, that is, sultan. Joseph's position with a high officer at court gave him exceptional opportunities to gain a knowledge of Egyptian life and customs. As the trusted overseer of Potiphar's house, he

had charge of a characteristic Egyptian institution. In this responsible position he was basely slandered by his master's wife. There is a wonderful Egyptian story, called "Tale of the Two Brothers," which may be either an echo of this incident or based upon it. Its similarity to the account of Joseph's experience in Potiphar's house is so remarkable that the conclusion forces itself upon one that there must have been some connection between the two stories.¹

Joseph was thus slandered into the royal prison, where the chief of the guard resided (Gen. 39). Here he made the acquaintance of two prisoners of rather high rank. The distinguished ex-officials dreamt dreams, and, like all Egyptians, attached large importance to their interpretation. The form and dress of those dreams are thoroughly Egyptian, locating the events beyond dispute within the border-lines of Egypt (Gen. 40). The subsequent dream of Pharaoh, with its Nile River, its kine pastured on its banks, its grain, and its sacred seven, are significantly Egyptian. Even some of the words embodied in the Hebrew records are Egyptian. The duty of the chief butler was that of pressing the juice out of the ripe bunches of grapes in the presence of the Pharaoh. This especial beverage is noted on the monuments as one of the chief offerings. The chief baker was beheaded in accordance with an Egyptian custom. At a later date Amenhotep carrying out the same royal prerogative on the basis of proved guilt decapitated several Syrian kings and hung up their bodies on his galley, and afterwards on his fortress.

¹ Translation in Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, 1895, pp. 36ff.

**120. Joseph
Prime
Minister.**

Joseph's skill in interpreting the dreams of those two imprisoned officials brought him to the attention and presence of the king.

The fact that Joseph shaved himself before appearing before the great monarch betrays the Egyptian origin of the story; for this custom has always been abhorred by Semitic peoples. It is not known, however, that even the Hyksos kings maintained this Egyptian ceremonial at court. The discernment shown in Joseph's interpretations won for him the favor of the king. In accordance with known Egyptian court proceedings, he is formally installed as prime minister over Egypt. The seal-ring or signet presented to him was a stone or flat surface of gold, engraved for stamping upon soft material. These Egyptian rings are the most rare and beautiful jewels found in our museums of this day. Tomkins calls attention to a remarkable one in the collection of M. Allemant. It is of black jasper, graven in intaglio on both sides. On the front there is a winged serpent and two Semitic signs; on the back a Hebrew inscription, dating from the Hyksos kings, of the Seventeenth dynasty. This is a vital witness to the presence of Semitic influences in Egypt in those days. Tomkins quotes de Rouge's description of Antef, prime minister (=first deputy of the king). Joseph's authority seems to be almost paralleled by that conferred on this prime minister. He was called the

functionary of the signet chief of the chiefs, . . . alone in the multitude, he bears the word to men; he declares all affairs in the double Egypt; he speaks on all matters in the place of secret counsel. When he enters he is applauded, when he issues forth he

is praised. The princes hold themselves attentive to his mouth, all his words come to pass without (resistance), like that which issues from the mouth of god.

The collar of gold with which Joseph was decorated was one of the marks of distinction among Egyptian officials. He was also to ride in the second royal chariot of the king, and in his progress through the land a word, *abrek*, either Babylonian *abarakku*, "ruler," or Egyptian, "attention," was called out before him by a runner. Clothed with regal authority and power, Joseph became the administrator of the kingdom of Egypt. Whether this could have taken place under any native Egyptian monarch is not known; but it is eminently plausible that a foreign Semite could have been promoted to the position of prime minister, if the ruling sovereigns were Asiatics and Semites, as the Hyksos probably were.

That a foreigner would be promoted to a high position in Egypt during the Empire (1580-945 B. C.) is already attested. A similar case to that of Joseph is related in the Amarna letters, in which a high Egyptian official by the name of *Jauhamu*, a Semite, was made commissioner of grain storehouses at Jarimuta, which was available for Phœnician harbor cities. Some would locate him in the region of the land of Goshen. To him the Egyptian subjects in Canaan-Syria appealed in case of necessity, as he was the high official of the Egyptian government for that foreign state. He had all power to respond to the appeals for grain either in exchange for silver, wood, or the sons and daughters of the buyers. The position of Joseph as commissioner of granaries in Goshen (Gen. 47 : 13ff.), in retaining the sons of Jacob

as hostages, reminds one of the position of Jauhamu. Was Jarimuta identical with Jarmuth (Josh. 12 : 11) ?

The dignity of Joseph, as well as his authority in office, was supported by the Pharaoh's act in securing for him a wife of high rank. She was the daughter of the high priest of On. This official was the most influential of the religious characters of the land. Joseph's domestic relations with this house would insure friendly cooperation between the ruling and the ritual classes. Thus armed with authority by the royal house, and protected by an alliance with the priestly house, and guided by a wonderful Providence, Joseph had every advantage in his favor for consummating a great work for the Egyptians.

121. Joseph's Brethren. Joseph's promotion to prime minister of Egypt was made in face of the famine which he had predicted to the Pharaoh. Periods of distress of this kind had occurred on account of the failure of the annual rise of the Nile, from prehistoric times. Rulers in the past had made especial mention of the fact that their foresight had provided storehouses for grain, so that in the event of a famine their subjects might not be reduced to a state of starvation. The monuments already discovered make several references to droughts of wide-spread prevalence. One, at least, describes seven years of famine of sharp severity, during which even the king on the throne is grief-stricken at the distress all about him; the great misfortune is charged to the failure of the annual Nile flood for seven years.

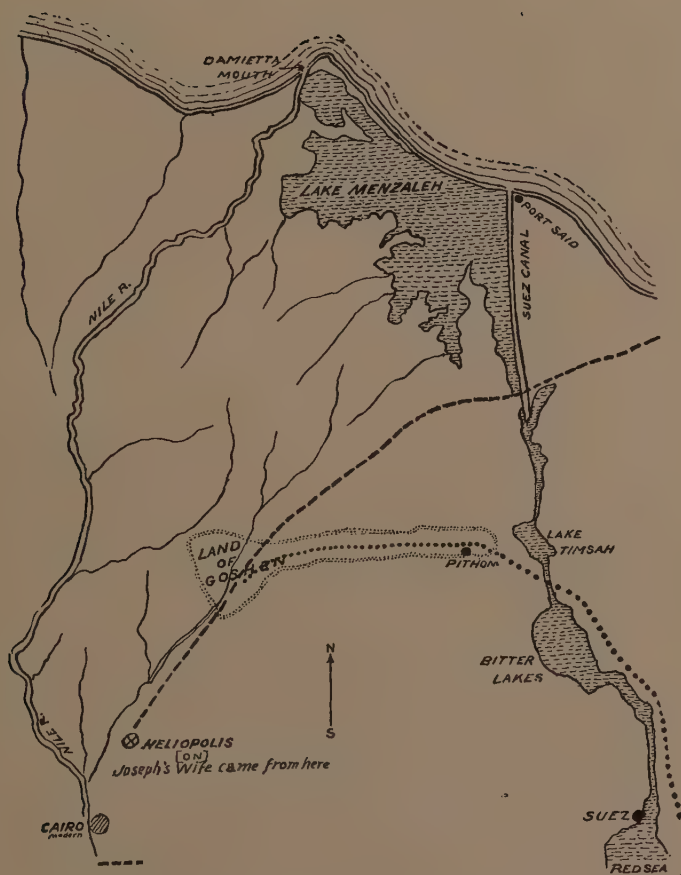
But there is a record of one famine which many, among them Brugsch, have identified with the time of Joseph. In a tomb at El-Kab, an inscription of the governor,

named Baba, states that he, in the great famine which came upon his people, dealt out to them grain which he had stored away in times of plenty. Brugsch says, Baba

lived about the time that Joseph exercised his office, under one of the Hyksos kings, lived and worked under the native king Ra-Sekenem Taa III in the old town of El-Kab. The only just conclusion is that the many years of famine in the time of Baba must precisely correspond with the seven years of famine under Joseph's Pharaoh, one of the Shepherd-Kings.

Baba says, "when a famine arose, lasting many years, I issued corn to the city each year of the famine." A famine of long duration at El-Kab would have reached the adjoining lands, and even the fruitful Delta. The identity of the age of Baba and of Joseph is conceded by some. The severity seems also to have gone beyond the boundaries of the Nile-lands, if the Biblical narrative is allowed to add its testimony.

It was just this kind of event that drove Joseph's brethren to the storehouses of Egypt for food. Under the Hyksos rulers intercourse between Egypt and Canaan would have been easy and constant. Traders, travelers, and wanderers could easily have entered the frontier walls facing Asia, and would have been regarded as friends of the ruling power. The peculiar treatment of his brothers by Joseph and his subsequent confession of his identity are radiant with their Egyptian background. The migration of the clan of Jacob to Egypt presents no insuperable difficulties, and the permission to settle in Goshen carries with it certain advantages; for one thing, Goshen, between the Delta and the Asiatic frontier, would have given these Israelites the advantage of prox-



Map No. 7. The Land of Goshen

In the eastern section of the Delta of Egypt, the Hebrews had their allotment of territory. A king "who knew not Joseph" enslaved them, and after long years of slavery, they escaped from the land under a favorable wind, across one of the shallows of the Bitter-Lake-northern-extension of the Red Sea (§127). Note the location of the store-city Pithom (§123).

imity to a border-line, if for any reason they desired to return to Asia. It was also a territory adapted rather for grazing than for raising the fruits, cereals, and vegetables of Egypt. The Israelites were also sufficiently isolated to allow them to enjoy the tribal life peculiar to wandering shepherds, and if necessity demanded, to go to the aid of their Hyksos benefactors. Israel was thus given a choice bit of Egypt for her occupation, with all of the advantages of location and of character of the country necessary for normal growth.

It seems probable then that the events of Joseph's life and the settlement of his kin in Goshen took place during Hyksos supremacy, otherwise we should not expect to have seen such benevolent consideration of their interests at the hands of the ruling power. The one other period of history where these events could have taken place was during the reign of the last two kings of the Eighteenth dynasty. But all things considered, the statements of early historians, the time necessary for the growth of Israel, and known facts of the periods, the events of Joseph's career and of Israel's settlement in Goshen are most appropriately found in the last dynasty of the Hyksos domination, or before 1580 B. C.

**122. Israel
in Goshen.**

The expulsion of the Hyksos was the beginning of a new policy in Egypt. Foreign conquest, especially of Asia and of Nubia by Thutmose III, has already been noticed (§105). The outcome of these foreign victories was the undermining of the entire governmental structure of Egypt, through foreign marriages and foreign religions. The Nineteenth dynasty vied with the Eighteenth in its ambitions and its

deeds, stretching from northern Syria to the boundaries of Nubia in the far south. During the former and probably during some of the latter dynasty the Israelites probably enjoyed a rather easy freedom in the land of Goshen, as herdsmen of large and small cattle.

NOTE ON FIG. 1, tail-piece below: The so-called Oak of Abraham at Mamre, near Hebron, the site of the tree by which Abraham pitched his tent (Gen. 13 : 18), is the live oak of our Southern States upon which mistletoe thrives so vigorously, the *Quercus Pseudo-coccifera*, of the botanist.





CHAPTER XI

MOSES AND THE EXODUS

123. Israel Slaves.

"Now there arose a new king over Egypt, who knew not Joseph" (Exod. 1 : 8).

Who was this new king who did not recognize the policy toward Israel established by Joseph, and continued presumably by his successors?

This question is now reasonably laid to rest by the excavations in 1883, of Edouard Naville, under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, within the old territory of Goshen. The numerous inscriptions and antiquities brought to light at Tell el-Maskhuta show that this ancient city called Pi-Tum, "House of Atum," named by the Hebrews Pithom and Succoth, was built by Ramses

NOTE ON FIG. 119, head-piece above: The mummy of Ramses II was found at Thebes in 1881, and is a majestic form even today, with a certain amount of poise and dignity. He died after a great reign of sixty-seven years about 1225 B. C., at the age of ninety years. He is probably the Pharaoh under whom the Hebrews endured great hardships (§123).

II. In Grecian times this city was called Heroöpolis or Ero, the Egyptian word for storehouse, suggesting that Pithom and Raamses (Exod. 1 : 11), which Israel built for Pharaoh, were treasure-cities. The Boghaz-Keui tablets read it *Ra-a-ma-she-sha*. At this place, Naville discovered even the treasure-chambers. They were strongly built and separated by brick partitions from eight to ten feet thick. The bricks, half sun-baked, were made, some with

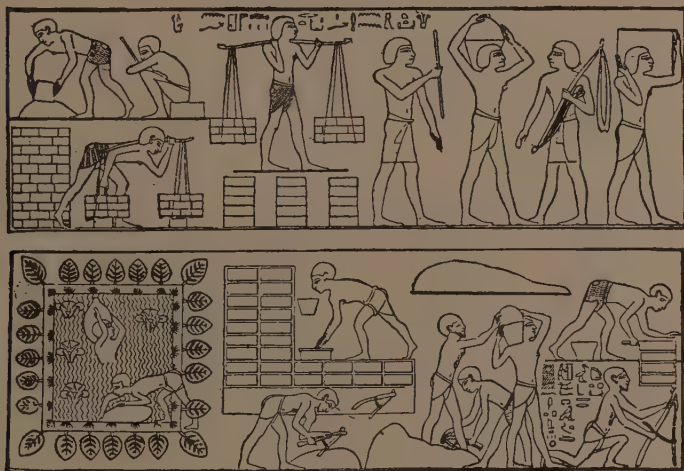


Fig. 28. Brick-makers in Egypt

These scenes are painted on the walls of a tomb and represent the building of the temple of Amon at Thebes by foreign captives of Thutmose III (§110), brought from Syria and Phœnicia. In the inscriptions attached we find: "The taskmaster says to the laborers, 'The rod is in my hand; be not idle!'"

First Scene, from the left: A man emptying a bucket of mud; a taskmaster with his rod, sitting and watching him; two men carrying loads of brick with yokes and cords. Another taskmaster with a rod extended; two men carrying mud in vessels; another with yoke and cords returning for another load.

Second Scene, from left: Two men bringing water from a pond surrounded by trees, and full of water-lilies; below, two men are cutting off portions of clay, one carrying it to the moulder, who is turning a brick out of the mould; another is gauging his cutter; and another piling up the bricks to dry. The inscription says the work is "for the new building of the storehouse of the god Amon of Apt, at Thebes."

and some without straw. These storehouses were means adopted by the Pharaoh, Ramses II, to provide for his people in the event of a foreign invasion, or of a famine, such as had often visited this land. These precautions served to make Ramses' kingdom independent of his neighbors. These cities of Pithom and Raamses accord with the demands of the Scripture narrative. The storehouses occupy in Pithom almost the whole area of the city, the walls of which are about 650 feet square and twenty-two feet thick. The strawless bricks in these walls almost reecho the rigor of Pharaoh's words, when he said, "Ye shall no more give the people straw" (Exod. 5 : 7), but demanded the former tale of bricks. About these old walls we can see and handle some of the handiwork of the Hebrew slaves. Could those old ruins but speak, what tales of hard taskmasters, of bloody lashings, of exhaustion and distress would they reveal to us! The bondage of Israel, in all kinds of hard and bitter service, aroused even the court-educated youth Moses to overstep the bounds of his patience and to commit murder.

124. Moses and Sargon. The name "Moses" is the same as the last element in the proper names, Thutmose, Ahmose, and the like. Such an element of names is frequent in the new empire and also appears in the Amarna letters, as an Egyptian named *A-ma-an-ma-sha* (= child of Amon).

The Exodus record of Moses' rescue from the death required by the Pharaoh is as follows :

And when she (Moses' mother) could not longer hide him, she took for him an ark of bulrushes (papyrus), and daubed it with slime (bitumen) and with pitch; and she put the child therein, and



Fig. 130. Cylinder Seal of Sargon I

This is the royal seal of one of the early Babylonian rulers, Shargani-shar-ali, or Sargon I (about 2800 B. C.). The giant Gilgamesh holds a vase out of which flows water that the celestial bull is drinking, ere it falls to the ground. The inscription reads: "To Shargani-shar-ali, King of Agade. Ibni-shar, the scribe thy servant." This seal is a masterpiece of early Babylonian art.

laid it in the flags by the river's brink and the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river; and her maidens walked along by the riverside; and she saw the ark among the flags, and sent her handmaid to fetch it. And she opened it, and saw the child: and behold, the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children. And Pharaoh's daughter said to her (the one called), Take this child away and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son (Exod. 2 : 3-10).

The unique beginnings of Moses have a kind of parallel in the case of Sargon I of about 2800 B.C. (Fig. 130). It is written in Babylonian (Akkadian), and reads as follows:

Sargon, the mighty king, king of Akkad am I.

My mother was a humble (woman), my father I did not know.

The brother of my father dwelt in the mountain.

My city is Azupiranu, which lay on the bank of the Euphrates.

5. My humble mother conceived me, in secret she brought me forth.

She laid me in a little reed basket, she closed the lid with pitch.

She put me on the river, which did not rise high.

The river bore me up, to Akki the irrigator it brought me.

Akki, the irrigator, in the goodness (of his heart) lifted me up.

10. Akki, the irrigator, as his own son . . . brought me up.

Akki, the irrigator, as his gardener, appointed me.

When I was a gardener, the goddess Ishtar loved me.

And five years I ruled the kingdom.

Such striking similarities between the beginnings of two historical characters in Egypt and Babylonia are worthy of careful consideration.

One more item of interest parallels Moses' place at court. In one of the Amarna letters (Knudtzon, No. 296), the king of Gaza wrote to the king of Egypt,

When I was small an officer (of the king of Egypt) took me down to Egypt, and I served the king, my lord, and I stood in the gate of the city of the king, my lord.

125. Pharaoh
of the
Exodus.

If Ramses II was the Pharaoh of the oppression, who was the Pharaoh of the exodus? Ramses succeeded in strongly intrenching himself in the midst of a powerful empire, and of making ample provision as he



Fig. 95. Portrait of Merneptah

The cartouches on the shoulders give his names: that on the right, "Binre-Meriamon; son of Re"; on the left, "Merneptah-Hotepirma, given life." He is supposed to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus. This was found at Thebes in 1896 by Prof. Petrie.

thought for its perpetuity. Any body of men who could have escaped from the Delta into Asia would have been captured by his garrisons stationed throughout his possessions in the northeast. If they could have reached the Hittite country, the extradition section of the treaty between that land and Egypt would have necessitated their return to their master and king.

Ramses II died 1225 B. C. and was succeeded by a son who was by no means the equal of his father. Merneptah's accession seems to have been the signal for a rebellion against the throne. The Libyans of northern Africa, the inhabitants of the isles of the seas, peoples from Asia, arose not only to free themselves from the yoke of Egypt, but even to invade her territory. Foreigners swarmed into Lower Egypt and threatened the very existence of the empire. The paralyzing and destructive oppression under which the Hebrews groaned, may be referred to in the inscription of notable fame which contains the name "Israel." "A hymn of victory addressed to Merneptah alludes to 'Israel,' to whom 'no seed' had been left." But this oppression met a severe blow in the fifth year of his reign (1220 B. C.). The ominous uprisings among the surrounding nations taxed the military resources of the young king. The plagues also staggered the land and the people and stung the Pharaoh to a pitch of desperation. Driven on by rebellions and by plagues, he finally grants every demand of the Hebrews. They hastily gather up their goods, both their own and those "borrowed," and their flocks, and as a "mixed multitude" (Exod. 12 : 38), they march eastward to pass through the frontier walls.

126. **Plagues.** The plagues or the thought that produced them finds an echo in the address of the god Ea to Enlil as recited in §88, lines 180-194:

180. Then Ea opened his mouth and spake,
to the mighty Enlil he said:
"O thou, leader among the gods, mighty Enlil,
how, O how couldst thou, without counsel, bring on a deluge?
On the sinner place his punishment.
185. On the criminal place (the result of) his crime.
Forbear, that they be not (all) cut off, spare . . .
Instead of thy making a deluge,
let a lion rise up and diminish mankind.
Instead of thy making a deluge,
190. let a wolf rise up and diminish mankind.
Instead of thy making a deluge,
let a famine come and the land. . . .
Instead of thy making a deluge,
let the god of pestilence come and slay mankind."

In the Babylonian myth of Ea and Atrakhasis, out of a badly mutilated text we find that in a list of plagues that broke out over mankind, are drought, disease, and famine—preferable to another devastating man-destroying deluge such as was fully brought on mankind as related in Chapter VII, §88.

As a prevention against the death of the first-born Exodus specifies (Exod. 12 : 3-7) :

they shall take to them every man a lamb, . . . and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it at even. And they shall take of the blood, and put it on the two side-posts and on the lintel, upon the houses wherein they shall eat it.

A similar idea is found in a Babylonian ritual of exorcism¹ :

¹ Zimmern, *Beiträge*, p. 126. 1, 19f.

The exorcist shall go out to the door; a sheep in the door of the palace she shall offer; with the blood of this lamb, the lintel, the . . . door posts right and left of the door of the palace.

Another similar passage says:

An offering of a lamb he shall make; the blood of the slain offering on the . . . of the door he shall sprinkle.

Regarding the future observance of the passover, Exodus says:

When ye are come to the land which Jehovah will give you, according as he hath promised, that ye shall keep this service . . . when your children shall say unto you, What mean ye by this service? that ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of Jehovah's passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses (Exod. 12 : 25-27).

An Egyptian laudatory utterance of Amon reads:

Be on guard before him! Tell it to son and daughter, large and small! Tell it to generation and generation still unborn. Tell it to the fish in the water, to the birds in the heavens; tell it to the wise and to the unwise.

Some of these similarities are due to the common ideas current among the early races, and a stereotyped method of expressing similar ideas.

**127. Route
of the
Exodus.**

Naville's discovery of Pithôm already noted and our definite location of the eastern boundaries of the land of Goshen, aid us in tracing the route of the Exodus. This motley throng of fleeing slaves marched up against the boundary wall-line. Thence they are led about until they face an expanse of water. "Jehovah went before them by day in a pillar of cloud . . . and by night in a pillar

of fire" (Exod. 13 : 21). Look at this oracle received by Esarhaddon king of Assyria: "I, Ishtar of Arbela, will cause a smoke to mount up on thy right, and on thy left a fire."²

A strong east (northeast) wind blowing all night drove back the waters, and the released slaves escaped across the bared shallows of the upper end of the Red Sea, probably then Lake Timsah. Pharaoh sent after the escaping Israelites a detachment of swift charioteers who became mired in the sand and perished in the returning waters. At about this same time Merneptah routed the allied enemies of his throne in a great battle, in which he took valuable booty and a multitude of captives. It is not strange that the flight of the Hebrews is not mentioned in Egyptian history. The escape of slaves, especially when it meant a practical defeat of the purposes of the Pharaoh, would scarcely be recorded by the court annalist. Again, the occurrence of such migrations as this was, is not seldom in lands of shepherds and nomads. Hints to just such migrations from Egypt are reflected in the writings of Diodorus Siculus, Tacitus, Manetho, Lysimachus, and writers in the Christian centuries.

128. Length of Egyptian Sojourn. Far from doubting the Egyptian sojourn of the Hebrews, the Biblical narrative preserves an Egyptian coloring, sets on admirably an Egyptian background, and reflects Egyptian customs and manners. The excavations at Pithom, the one occurrence of the name "Israel" on the Egyptian monuments, suitable political conditions in the reign of Merneptah, and the veritable mummies of Seti I, Ramses

² *IV Rowl.*, 61, Col. IV, 69ff.

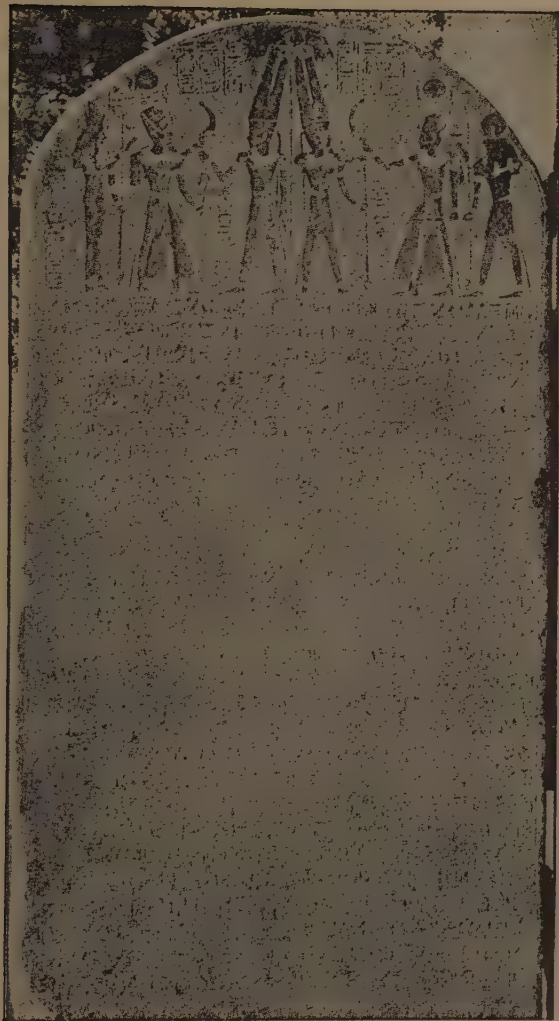


Fig. 73. "Israel" Tablet of Merneptah II

This "Israel" tablet carries on it, second line from the bottom, the earliest known mention of Israel on the monuments. It reads, "Israel is laid waste, not [exists] his seed (grain), Syria hath become a widow." This stone came from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes. Merneptah left the old inscription on the other side. At the top the god Amon presents a curved sword to the king

II, and Merneptah in the Cairo museum point to the very probable correctness of the claim that Israel sojourned in the land of Goshen. In the cuneiform texts we find for Migdol *Ma-ag-da-li*; for Baal-zephon, *Ba-al-sa-pu-nu*, places mentioned in Exodus 14.

How long did Israel sojourn in the land of Egypt? From the migration of Jacob's family into that land of plenty, to their exodus about 1220 B. C. How long were they in actual slavery? This question cannot be specifically answered. If they were enslaved by the early kings of the Nineteenth dynasty and escaped in 1220 B. C., their slave-service did not cover much more than one century, while their sojourn from Joseph's day may have lasted 300 or more years.

129. Purpose of Egyptian Sojourn. What was the purpose of that long Egyptian sojourn? The more we penetrate the mists of antiquity in the decipherment of its records, the more we discover of the remarkable character of the old civilizations located on the Nile and on the Euphrates-Tigris rivers. The patriarchs while in Canaan were living among peoples of a low type of civilization, if civilization it might be called, and of low moral character. God had in store larger things for the descendants of the patriarchs. To occupy the position which he had planned for them, it was necessary that they become acquainted with the nations of their day. Their settlement and sojourn in Egypt, under any of the monarchs who guided the affairs of that Oriental state, or even during the reign of a Hýksos sovereign, was the introduction of the Israelites to the foremost or one of the two foremost civilizations of

those times. Yet they were so compactly settled that they lost neither their identity nor their life-customs, nor all of their religion. Their long, peaceful sojourn gave them an opportunity to observe and to learn what Egypt's life, its government, its customs, and its religion were. Then daily mingling with the motley crowd of foreign merchantmen, seeing the rushing to and fro of Egyptian armies, and sharing in the benefits of the government of this great land, broadened their vision of the meaning of national life, and of its claims upon its subjects and supporters.

Then their enslavement taught them a definite lesson. Though accustomed to see many of the arts practised about them, their actual training in these was now forced upon them by taskmasters. "They made their lives bitter with hard service, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field, all their service, wherein they made them serve with rigor" (Exod. 1 : 14). These words tell us that the Hebrews were compelled to work in all the trades and occupations of their masters, and to work hard at them. This was an industrial training-school in a foremost civilization of that day. It was the severest, the sharpest, and the most complete training a people could receive to make them skilful in the leading arts and occupations of Egypt. Their easy and ready contact with the Egyptians taught them the meaning of responsibility. Moses in the court of the Pharaoh had received the intellectual training, the spiritual testing, and an all-around preparation for his supreme task. The Hebrews, as bondsmen, were lashed into their places as apprentices and workmen to prepare for independence

when the day of freedom should arrive. Thus a people was planted in the garden of Egypt, was trained and pruned with great care by a severe gardener to yield fruit in the distant days of the unknown future.

NOTE ON FIG. 99, tail-piece below: Michelangelo's "Moses," finished in 1545 for decorating the tomb of Pope Julius II. One of the profoundest productions of a sculptor, and worthy of our closest study. It now rests in the church of "St. Peter in Chains" at Rome. The horns on the head have their basis in Exodus 34 : 29, where the Hebrew reads, "The skin of his face sent forth beams" (Heb. "horns") (§126).





CHAPTER XII

THE LAWS OF MOSES, OF HAMMURABI, OF THE ASSYRIANS, AND OF THE HITTITES

130. **Israel** The exodus of Israel from Egypt was her
 in the first step toward entering and occupying
 Wilderness. "the promised land." But before striking
 into the wilderness, the joyful freedmen
 must celebrate their marvelous deliverance from the op-
 pression of Egypt. This was done, whensoever it was
 put into final form, in the poetical strains of the "Song of
 Moses and Miriam" (Exodus 15). It was Israel's *Te*
Deum, the celebration of her national birth, the beginning
 of her freedom as a people to plan and to act as she chose,
 to hew out her own destiny in her own way. This
 triumph-song is dedicated to Jehovah, for he wrought
 the victory, and he must be the object of their praise and
 exaltation. Upon the completion of this national hymn
 the entire population pushed out into the wilderness three
 days' journey from the Red Sea to be beyond the reach

NOTE ON FIG. 56, head-piece above: This name figures so prominently in the
 dynasty of Babylon, of which he was the sixth king, that its very form in his own
 language commands more than ordinary interest (§132).

of any Egyptian cavalry that might be scouting about in the wilderness of Shur. The jubilant spirits of these free people were soon curbed by the hardships and privations of the wilderness. Lack of food and drink showed how much these necessities control the daily conditions of our minds and spirits.

With eager hearts they set out to take possession of the land of their fathers. But their enthusiastic spirits soon realized that "the promised land" was not waiting for them to enter it. Even the wilderness was occupied by peoples who had learned to stand their ground against invaders. The Amalekites were the first to dispute Israel's attempt to enter Canaan from the southwest. The clash between the two peoples apparently was not decisive enough to give either the advantage over the other (Exod. 17 : 8-16). We should notice that Israel did not soon again attempt to force an entrance into Canaan.

**131. Ten
Command-
ments.**

After the Israelites had wandered about for some months they came to a camping-place near the base of the mountain called by them Sinai (was it related to the god Sin?). The

significance of their sojourn at this place is that here they received or adopted, according to Exodus 20 : 1-17, the Ten Commandments. I shall assume that these are familiar to every reader and proceed to recite some of the light which flows in on us from the ethical codes of other ancient peoples. In Babylonian¹ we find:

Has he set at variance father and son, son and father, mother and daughter, daughter and mother, daughter-in-law and mother-in-law,

¹ Zimmern, *Shurpu*, pp. 2ff.

brother and brother, friend and friend, companion and companion? Has he not set free the captive or released the prisoner? Has he not allowed the imprisoned to see the light of day, and given orders to hold the captive, and to bind the bound ones? Is it indeed a sin against a god, a transgression against a goddess? Has he dishonored a god, cursed a goddess? Is it an offense against a god, trespass against a goddess? Violence against an ancestor (?), hatred against an elder brother? Has he cursed father or mother, insulted an older sister, has he yielded in little things, refused in large things, said "No" for "Yes," and "Yes" for "No," spoken sordidly, disobediently (acted), used false weights, used counterfeit money, not using good money, disinherited a righteous son, taken care of an unrighteous son, drawn false boundary-lines, not permitted true boundaries to be established, removed the boundary-stones, and territory? Has he trespassed in his neighbor's house, has he approached his neighbor's wife, has he shed his neighbor's blood, has he robbed his neighbor of his clothing? Has he driven a brave man away from his family, the friendship of compatible kinsfolk shattered, rebelled against the authorities? Was he upright in speech, but false at heart, saying with his mouth a bountiful "Yes," but in his heart a bountiful "No"?

These rather odd combinations are evidently part of the ethical requirements, rather prohibitions, of the Babylonian general code. The 125th chapter of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* gives us some assertions that must be built on ethical standards of merit:

- I have not dealt falsely with any man
- I know nothing unworthy about anything;
- I have not done wickedness.
- I have not done what god abhors,
- 5. I have not dealt evilly with a servant of the governor,
I have not injured any one,
I have not made any one weep,
I have not killed,
I have not devoted any one to death,
- 10. I have not done wickedly against any one,
I have not diminished the food-offerings in the temple,

- I have not reduced the cake-offerings of the gods,
I have not taken away the cakes of the dead,
I have not broken my marriage bond,
15. I have not practised unchastity in the temple of my god,
I have not increased or diminished the pile of grain,
I have not diminished the yield of the field. . . .

Other Egyptian parallel sentiments are often found. Here are some out of Breasted's *Records*²:

I was one who said that which was good, and repeated that which was loved. Never did I say anything evil to a powerful one against any people (for) I desired that it be well with me in the great god's presence. I gave bread to the hungry, and clothing to the naked. Never did I judge two brothers in such a way that a son was deprived of his paternal possession. I was one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, whom his brothers and sisters loved (Said by Pepi-nakht).

These citations suffice out of scores of examples, to convince us of the close relationships between the various ethical codes of ancient peoples. Especially those between man and man recite the splendid sentiments, attitudes, and acts that were current in the best life of those early days.

The question that often comes up regarding these likenesses is whether Moses was influenced in his statement of the Ten Commandments by these sentiments so generally known and current in Babylonia and Egypt. Doubtless as a resident of Egypt, and as a kenner of Egyptian lore, Moses was informed about the general ethical standards that were believed and taught and practised on the Nile. And he would not be ignorant of the standards published and current in Babylonia, and carried across southwestern Asia by every commercial caravan.

² Vol. I, p. 162f.

**132. Ham-
murabi
Stela.**

But the one most startling legal document ever discovered was the so-called code of Hammurabi. This Hammurabi was king of Babylon 2123-2081 B. C. He was the sixth king in the First Babylonian dynasty. He has left us numerous inscriptions that testify to his greatness as king and administrator. He was the political unifier of the small states of Babylonia into one powerful kingdom. He was also a ruler of no mean literary achievements, for some of the choicest documents of this period were due directly to his energy. Our interest in his name, however, is found in the facts that he was probably both a contemporary of Abraham and the compiler of the code of laws named after him. His name may be identical with that of Amraphel (*Ammurapaltu*) king of Shinar (Babylonia) in Genesis 14 : 1, as already indicated in §102.

The conquests and administration of Hammurabi as a ruler covered the Babylonian valley and extended westward to the Mediterranean Sea. The discoveries of the last half century have continually enlarged our conceptions of the importance of this king in the civilization of lower Babylonia in the days of Abraham. But our most utopian expectations of light on this period have been surpassed by the discoveries made at Susa by the expedition of the French government. In December, 1901, and January, 1902, M. J. de Morgan, the indefatigable French archeologist and excavator, found on the site of the old acropolis of Susa ("Shushan" of Esther) portions of a broken stela of black diorite, a stone much in favor in the Persian Gulf countries for the production of statues and obelisks. The portions thus found were



Fig. 60. The Stela of Hammurabi

A diorite column almost eight feet high, on which are engraved the compiled 247 laws of Hammurabi, numbering about 3,600 lines, written in the beautiful script of the twenty-first century B. C. (§132). The figures at the top of the column will be described in another connection.

put together and formed a stela a little more than eight feet high, about six feet in circumference at the base, and five feet at the top. On the obverse at the top we have a representation of the god Shamash sitting upon a throne, and holding in his extended right hand what appears to be a rod and a circle with lines across it, resembling somewhat the symbol of eternity seen on so many Egyptian monuments. In front of, and facing this seated figure is a standing personage supposed to be a representation of Hammurabi, to whom the mysterious symbols are being extended or presented. Beneath these figures on the obverse of the stela are sixteen columns of cuneiform writing, carrying 1,114 lines. There were formerly five more columns on this side, but they have been erased in polishing the shaft, perhaps for the purpose of cutting upon it some inscription of victory or dedication. On the reverse side there are twenty-eight columns containing more than 2,500 lines of inscriptions, or a total on the stela of more than 3,600 lines of cuneiform text, the script soon used in all southwestern Asia.

This stela of diorite had been prepared and inscribed in Semitic Babylonian (Akkadian), by the orders of Hammurabi, and set up in Esagila, the temple of Marduk in Babylon, where the people could see and read it—as many as could read their complicated system of writing. At some time thereafter when the Elamites overran Babylonia, they carried off this stone as a trophy, to Susa their capital, and there it remained to be found by the indefatigable French excavators in the opening years of the twentieth century, A. D.

This ancient stela carried on its surface Hammurabi's

code of civil laws. The prologue consists of about 700 lines which are devoted to the adulation and glorification of the author, to his care for his subjects, to his devotion to his gods, and to the restoration and extension of the cities and districts in his domain. Professor Scheil, who published an admirable edition of this code within nine months after its discovery (in 1902) estimates that the entire document, before the erasure of five columns, contained 282 separate and individual so-called laws. The remainder of the sixteen columns of the obverse, after deducting the prologue, contains sixty-five laws. Professor Scheil thinks the erased five columns carried thirty-five laws. The twenty-eight columns of the reverse carry 182 laws, making a total of 247 laws legible and intact on this diorite stela, now one of the choicest Babylonian prizes in the Louvre in Paris.

The character of the writing is that current in Babylonia from about 3000 to about 1800 B. C. The work was done in an artistic style, and, from the method of constructing the signs, was executed by at least two scribes or artisans. Of course, there are some new words, words hitherto unknown in Babylonian literature, but no more than we should expect to find in a new document from such a remote age.

**133. Con-
tents in
General.**

The contents of this great document is its most startling feature. When we keep in mind that its compiler was a contemporary of Abraham, and was thoroughly versed in the best things of that time, these contents have more than usual importance. It is a digest of customary law, a systematized set of precedents enacted in Babylonia,

rather than codified statutes. These cases are closely linked with every-day life, and give us an insight into the construction of society in a period about 800 years before Moses. They are arranged in systematic order and cover a wide range of cases. After a preface on the virtues of Hammurabi himself we find a kind of introduction on evidence and decision. The body of the cases falls into two main divisions: (1) Property, (2) person. The first division is subdivided into (a) personal, (b) real estate, (c) trade and business. The second main division is subdivided into (a) the family, (b) injuries, and (c) laborers and labor. These great subdivisions are ingeniously subdivided into the 242 cases following the introduction. Constructed as they are, they presuppose courts and legal processes for hundreds of years before the date of their codification, the time of Hammurabi. They tell us that Babylonia had reached a complicated and high state of civilization many centuries prior to the time of Abraham.

The social structure was made up of the free-born, the freedman, and the slave. Of the first two classes we find the priesthood, merchants, and soldiers. The king had a commander-in-chief of his troops, a captain, and a revenue collector. There were some persons, who, through the favor of the king, or by martial valor, won high social positions. The manual laborer and the physician belonged to the lower strata of society, at least they received stipulated wages, while the architect and ship-builder received for their skilled labor a present, an honorarium. A slave was valued as so much money, nevertheless he was permitted to engage in business. The value of his

person, when injured, is significant. A free-born person was regarded as equal in value to two who had acquired their freedom; and one such freedman was as valuable as two slaves.

Lack of space forbids giving the entire code in this connection, but I shall insert some of the cases that are of chief interest in comparison with the laws of Moses.

134. The The following is a translation of part of **Prologue.** the prologue of the code:

When Anu the sublime, king of the Anunnaki, and Bel the lord of heaven and earth, who decreed the destiny of the land, assigned to Marduk, the chief son of Ea, dominion over all mankind; and made him great among the Igigi; when they pronounced the exalted name of Babylon and made it great in the four quarters of the world; and founded an everlasting kingdom in it, whose foundations were as solid as those of heaven and earth—then they (Anu and Bel) called me, Hammurabi, the exalted prince, who feared the gods, to bring about the rule of righteousness in the land, to destroy the wicked and evil-doers; to prevent the strong from harming the weak; so that I should rule over the black-headed people like Shamash, to enlighten the land and to further the well-being of mankind.

Hammurabi, the prince named by Bel am I, producing riches and abundance; providing every requirement for Nippur and Dur-ilu; sublime supporter of Ekur (temple of Bel in Nippur, seat of Bel's worship); the wise king, who re-established Eridu in its place; and purified the worship of Eapsu (temple of Ea at Eridu, chief seat of Ea's worship); who conquered the four quarters of the world; who made great the name of Babylon; who rejoiced the heart of Marduk, his lord; who daily paid his devotions in Esagila (Marduk's temple in Babylon); the royal scion whom the god Sin begat; who enriched Ur (Abraham's birthplace, seat of moon-god, Sin); . . . the warrior who guarded Larsa and rebuilt Ebabbara (temple of Shamash in Larsa) for Shamash, his helper; the lord who granted new life to Erech, who brought water in abundance to its inhabitants, who raised the tower of Eanna (temple of Ishtar-Nana at Erech), who increased the wealth of Anu and Nana; the protector of the land; who reunited the scattered inhabitants of Isin, and who richly



Fig. 57. Hammurabi Receives a Message from Shamash

The seated figure is the sun-god Shamash as indicated by the rays rising from his shoulders. In his extended right hand he holds two mysterious objects, a kind of ring and a scepter, as if tendering them to Hammurabi, the compiler of the code of laws written around the column of which the two figures form the head-piece. These same two objects are found on a whole class of cylinder seals and memorials of Shamash (see Fig. 142).

endowed Egalmah (temple of Isin) When Marduk had sent me to rule the people and to bring help to the country, I established law and justice in the land, and promoted the well-being of its population.

135. Death Penalties.

The prologue is followed by the full code of 247 laws. Before looking into the laws which are analogous to those of the Pentateuch, a few outline facts regarding the threats upon evil-doers, will be of interest. The code contains thirty-two offenses for which the death penalty was executed. Some of these are: (1) Witchcraft, (2) threatening witnesses, (3) perjury, (4) theft, (5) receiving stolen goods, (6) appropriation of lost property, (7) selling lost property, (8) fraudulent claim of property as lost, (9) kidnapping, (10) procuring the desertion of a slave, (11) harboring a fugitive slave, (12) harboring a deserting soldier, (13) detaining a fugitive slave, (14) house-breaking, (15) highway robbery, (16) theft at a fire, (17) allowing seditious brawling in a wineshop, and (18) for constructing a faulty building that should fall upon and kill its owner or any member of his family.

The method of executing the death sentence is specified in a few cases: (1) Burning, as the penalty, (a) for a priestess of the temple who opens or enters a wineshop, (b) for the crime of incest, (c) for a thief caught at a fire; (2) drowning as the penalty, (a) for cheating in the selling of drinks, (b) for adultery, (c) for a careless, reckless wife, (d) for deserting a husband's home in his enforced absence; (3) impalement on a stake, for a woman who brings about the death of her husband by whatever means.

**136. Bodily
Punish-
ments.**

Next to death the severest penalty inflicted was bodily mutilation of the criminal. Some of these were the following: (1) Branding on the forehead, as a penalty for slander; (2) cutting off the ear, as the penalty for a slave who injures his owner's son; (3) putting out the eye, as a penalty for destroying another's eye, that is, "an eye for an eye"; (4) cutting off the hands, as a penalty (a) for striking one's father, (b) for a surgeon whose operation causes a man's death, (c) for a brander who spoils the sale of a slave by branding him; (5) cutting out the tongue of a slanderous son.

The law of retaliation as such often figures in the penalties. Some of these were: (1) An eye for an eye, (2) a bone for a bone, (3) a tooth for a tooth, (4) a life for a life, in this law (No. 230), "If it (a poorly constructed house) cause the death of a son of the owner of a house, they shall put to death a son of that builder"; (5) a slave for a slave (No. 230), "If it causes the death of a slave of the owner of the house, he shall give to the owner of the house a slave of equal value"; (6) penalty intended for another (No. 13), "If a man sue another at court, and fail to produce his testimony within six months, the penalty that would have been pronounced if he had proved his case, shall be retroactive upon himself."

**137. Fines,
Fees, Wages.**

The list of money fines for various kinds of assaults, wounds in quarrels, distraint on a working ox, stealing corn, or irrigating machines, runs up into scores, and the amounts are graduated according to the social position of the guilty party.

The fees also of some public-service officials were established by law; for example, if the physician or surgeon cured a wound, or a disease of the eye by a surgical operation, a freeman paid him ten shekels of silver, a freedman paid him five, and a slave two. If he set and healed a broken limb, a freeman paid him five shekels, a freedman three, and a slave two.

The wages of certain laborers was fixed by law. In addition the king fixed the wages, to be paid by the year, of a boatman, of a herdsman, of a reaper, and of a thresher; to be paid by the day, of an artisan, of a brick-maker, of a carpenter, of a stonecutter, of a tailor, of a milkman, of an ox or an ass or a calf for threshing, of an ox-wagon and driver, of a wagon alone, of a common boat, of a passenger-boat, and of a freight-boat.

**138. Laws
for the
Home.**

The laws regulating the home, the relations of husband and wife, their individual property rights, the rights and relations of the children, the complications of dowry rights reveal a very complex state of society. These laws are carefully and discriminatingly stated, and give woman no mean position in the Babylonian home of the twenty-first century B. C. To illustrate, the following are a few of the provisions regarding the wife: No. 128, "If a man take a wife and do not arrange with her the (proper marriage) contracts, that woman is not a (legal) wife"; No. 142, The wife was allowed by law to leave a slanderous and mean husband, and to take her dowry with her; No. 133, She was obliged to remain faithful to her husband if she were well provided for; No. 136, If a husband desert his city and his home, his wife is free to re-

marry, and is not required to return to him if he afterward return; No. 135, If a husband is carried captive by an army, his wife may remarry, but if he return, she must return to him, leaving any children she may have borne her second husband to their father; No. 138, "If a man divorce a wife who has not borne him children, he must return to her the amount of her marriage settlement, and the marriage dowry that she brought from her father's house"; No. 145, "If a man's wife be barren, he may take a concubine, but she shall not rank with his wife" (compare the relations of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar as already noted in §115).

The laws for the regulation of agriculture and business are many, and are indicative of the complexities of commercial life in Abraham's day. They show that the Babylonians were a thrifty agricultural and commercial people, whose methods of trade were in need of strict governmental control.

139. Assyrian and Hittite Codes. Before passing on to make formal comparisons between the laws of the Pentateuch and those of Hammurabi, I wish to mention two other recently discovered important groups of laws: (1) An old Assyrian code of laws, found at Ashur by the German expedition and translated into French by Scheil, who put out the first edition of the Hammurabi code. (2) A Hittite code of laws found at Boghaz-Keui near the site of Khatti, the old Hittite capital in Asia Minor, in 1907, only partially translated by Hrozný; besides these there are some Neo-Babylonian and Sumerian laws which are of interest but not often vital for our comparisons with Old Testament laws.

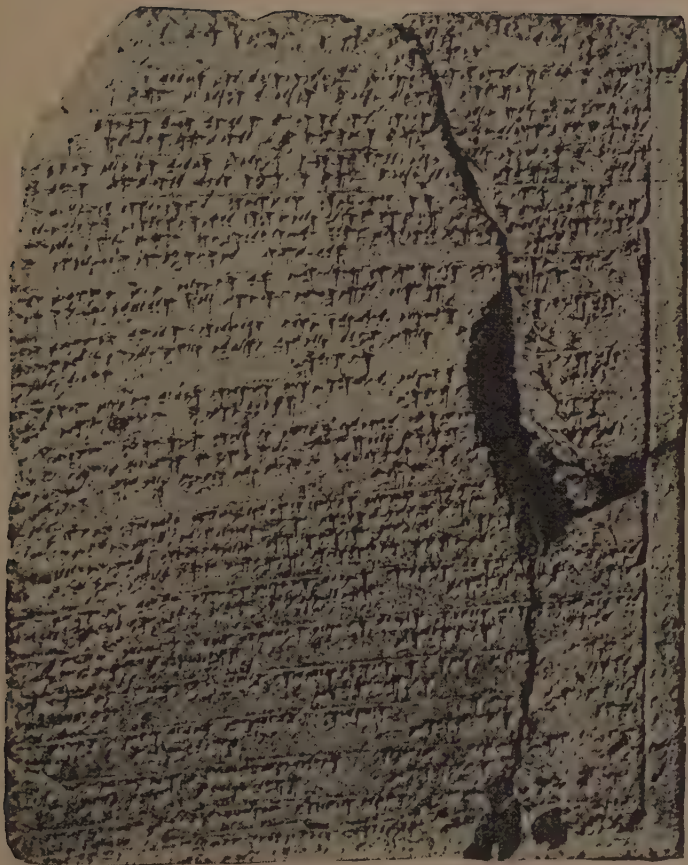


Fig. 64. Part of the Hittite Code of Laws

The choicest finds of Winckler at Boghaz-Keui in 1906-7, were the Hittite laws written in Babylonian cuneiform script (§139) and now preserved in the royal museum of Berlin. Some of these are quoted in the adjoining text (see Extra-biblical Refs.). This piece includes the first fifteen laws of the code, just as a specimen of the first photographic reproduction of these old laws.

**140. Temporary
Slaves.**

There is a considerable body of material in the laws of the Pentateuch that was doubtless current from a remote antiquity. In some of the laws of Hammurabi's code there are provisions practically identical and others almost identical with those of the Pentateuch. The similarities are so striking that a few quotations will follow in succession mainly to illustrate how the codes of Hammurabi and of Moses and of the other laws newly discovered read side by side. This kind of an exhibit will readily present to the reader the exact items which are so remarkably alike in the different codes.

Exodus 21 : 2: If thou buy a Hebrew bondman, six years he shall serve; and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.

Hammurabi, No. 117: If a man be in debt and (on that account) sell his wife, son or daughter, or bind them over to service, for three years they shall work in the house of their purchaser or lord; in the fourth year they shall go free.

Exodus contemplates a Hebrew slave, something later (Deut. 24 : 7) entirely forbidden. In Hammurabi the law has in mind merely a temporary slavery to pay a debt.

**141. Perpetual
Slaves.**

Exod. 21 : 5, 6: But if the servant, shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free; then his master shall bring him unto God (or, judges), and shall bring him to the door, or unto the door-post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him forever.

Ham., No. 282: If a male slave say to his master, "Thou art not my master," his master shall prove him to be his slave and shall cut off his ear.

Assyrian, No. 45: If an Assyrian man or woman, who lives in a house as a pledge, whatever the amount (of the pledge) may have been, be taken over for the full amount, that must the man indicate with a mark, by boring through the ear.

In all three of these provisions the ear bears the mark of perpetual slavery.

- 142. Smiting** Exod. 21 : 15: He that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death.
Father or Ham., No. 195: If a son strike his father, they shall
Mother. cut off his hand.

Sumerian, Nos. 1, 2: If a son say to his father, "You are not my father!" he (the father) shall point him out, put the mark of a slave on him, and sell him for money.

If a son say to his mother, "You are not my mother," they shall cut off the hair of his head, lead him about the city, and then drive him out of the house.

The Exodus penalty is the more drastic and probably the oldest.

- 143. Man-stealing.** Exod. 21 : 16: And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

Ham., No. 14: If a man steal a man's son who is a young man, he shall be put to death.

The Hammurabi code specifies "young man" as if full-grown persons were not stolen in Babylonia.

- 144. Injury in a Quarrel.** Exod. 21 : 18, 19: And if men contend, and one smite the other with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed; if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit: only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.

Ham., No. 206: If one man strike another in a quarrel and cripple him, he shall swear, "I did not strike with (previous) intent," and he shall then be responsible for the physician('s fee).

This beautiful specimen of old Babylonian writing covers the entire stela, except about five columns where the Elamites erased the Babylonian to insert a dedication of their own, but failed to finish their task. The order of the forty-four columns, running around the shaft, instead of from above downwards, indicates that the Babylonian language at that time was read from up to down, and proceeded toward the left, exactly as most of the Semitic languages are read today. The writing is the classical form of that age.

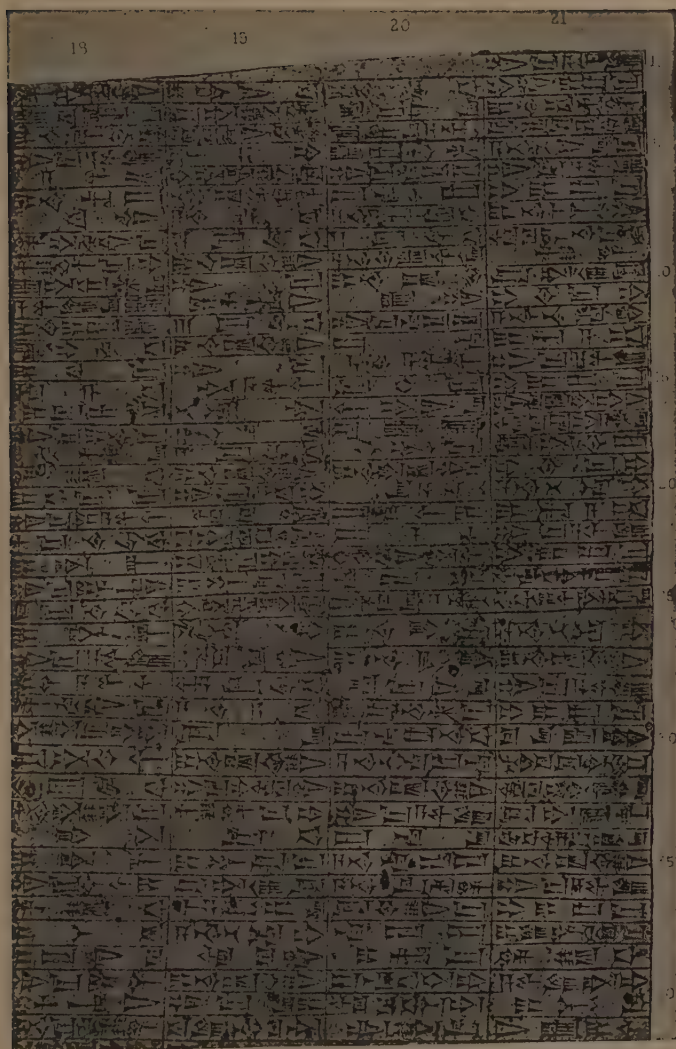


Fig. 59. Part of the Code of Hammurabi

For description see foot of p. 210.

These two laws recite that the result of a quarrel and fight is not subject to fines, except that the victor must pay for the healing of the one he beat up.

145. Injuring a Woman. Exod. 21 : 22, 23: And if men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart, and yet no harm follow; he shall be surely fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine. But if any harm follow, then thou shalt give life for life.

Ham., Nos. 209, 210: If a man strike a man's daughter and bring about a miscarriage, he shall pay ten shekels of silver for her miscarriage. If that woman die, they shall put that man's (who struck the woman) daughter to death.

Assyrian, No. 21: If a man strike the wife of another man, and cause a miscarriage, one shall produce the proof, shall convict him, and he shall pay two talents and 30 manas of lead, shall be given 50 blows of a rod, and shall serve the king one month.

All agree on severe punishment for the offender, but the Assyrian surpasses the others unless fatality follows the injury.

146. Lex Talionis. Exod. 21 : 24: Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.

Ham., Nos. 196, 197: If a man destroy the eye of a man, they shall destroy his eye. If one break a man's bone, they shall break his bone.

Hittite, No. 7, 8b: If one injure a freeman or knock out his teeth, he must pay one mana of silver; if only unintentionally, twenty shekels of silver. If one injure a slave man or woman, or knock out his teeth, he must pay ten shekels of silver.

Lex talionis crops out everywhere in ancient laws, and especially here in the two older codes.

Exod. 21 : 26: And if a man smite the eye of his
147. Loss of servant, or the eye of his maid, and destroy it,
an Eye. he shall let him go free for his eye's sake.

Ham., No. 199: If one destroy the eye of a man's
 servant, or break a bone of a man's servant, he shall pay one-
 half his value.

The Exodus law is the more humanitarian, giving the
 injured man his freedom for his loss.

Exod. 21 : 28: And if an ox gore a man or a woman
148. Gored to death, the ox shall be surely stoned, and its
by a Bull. flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner of the
 ox shall be quit.

Ham., No. 250: If a bull, when passing through the street, gore a
 man and cause his death, this case has no penalty.

The superstitious character of an evil beast allows the
 mildness of the outcome of such a proceeding in both
 cases.

Exod. 21 : 29: But if the ox was wont to gore in time past, and it
 hath been testified to its owner, and he hath not kept it in, but
 it hath killed a man or a woman, the ox shall be stoned, and its
 owner also shall be put to death.

Ham., No. 251: If a man's bull has been wont to gore, and they
 have told him his habit of goring, and he have not dehorned him,
 or have not tied him up, and that bull gore a young man, and
 cause his death, he (the owner) shall pay one-half mana of
 silver.

Blood revenge dictates the penalty of the Exodus law,
 while a fine settles the Hammurabi procedure.

Exod. 21 : 32: If the ox gore a man-servant or a maid-servant,
 there shall be given unto their master thirty shekels of silver, and
 the ox shall be stoned.

Hâm., No. 252: If it be the servant of a man, he shall pay one-third mana of silver.

The older regulation here is seen in the Exodus law of stoning the ox.

Exod. 22 : 1, 4, 3b: If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it; he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. If the theft be found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep; he shall pay double. If he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft.

**149. Steal-
ing Animals.**

Ham., No. 8: If a man steal ox or sheep, ass or pig, or boat—if it be from a god (temple) or a palace, he shall restore thirtyfold; if it be from a freeman, he shall render tenfold. If the thief have nothing wherewith to pay he shall be put to death.

Hittite, No. 58: If one steal a mature horse, . . . he shall pay fifteen horses, five of two years, five of a year, five of a half year old.

These provisions are drastic and far-reaching, to prevent the abuses of the social régime of those early days. The Hittite law is rather the mildest.

Exod. 22 : 2: If the thief be found breaking in, and be smitten so that he dieth, there shall be no bloodguiltiness for him.

**150. House-
breaking.**

Ham., No. 21: If a man break into a house, they shall put him to death in front of the breach, and they shall thrust him therein.

Hittite, Nos. 96, 97: If a freeman steal grain out of a granary, and he be taken at the granary, he shall fill the granary with grain and pay twelve shekels of silver.

(Same for a slave except he must pay six shekels.)

Exodus and Hammurabi practically agree on the penalty, as over against the mild form of the Hittite requirements.

Exod. 22 : 5: If a man shall cause a field or a vine-
151. Stolen yard to be eaten, and shall let his beast loose,
Pasture. and it feed in another man's field; of the best of
his own field and of the best of his own vine-
yard, shall he make restitution.

Ham., No. 57: If a shepherd have not come to an agreement with
the owner of a field to pasture his sheep on the grass; and if
he pasture his sheep on the field without the consent of the
owner, the owner of the field shall harvest his field, and the
shepherd who has pastured his sheep on the field without the
consent of the owner of the field shall give over and above 20
gur of grain per ten *gan* to the owner of the field.

Palestine was such a poor country that every item of
food for stock had to be conserved, while in Babylonia
no such strict regulations were in vogue.

Exod. 22 : 7-9: If a man shall deliver unto his
152. Deposits neighbor money or stuff to keep, and it be stolen
on Trust. out of the man's house; if the thief be found, he
shall pay double. If the thief be not found, then
the master of the house shall come near unto God (or, judges),
to see whether he have not put his hand unto his neighbor's
goods. For every matter of trespass, whether it be for ox, for ass,
for sheep, for raiment, or for any manner of lost thing, whereof
one saith, This is it, the cause of both parties shall come before
God; he whom God shall condemn shall pay double unto his
neighbor.

Ham., Nos. 124-126: If a man give to another silver, gold, or
anything else on deposit in the presence of witnesses, and
the latter dispute with him (or deny it), they shall call that
man to account, and he shall double whatever he has disputed
and repay it.

If a man give anything of his on deposit, and at the place of
deposit either by burglary or pillage he suffer loss in common
with the owner of the house, the owner of the house who has
been negligent and has lost what was given to him on deposit,
shall make good (the loss) and restore (it) to the owner of the
goods; the owner of the house shall institute a search for what

has been lost and take it from the thief. If a man have not lost anything, but say that he has lost something, or if he file a claim for loss when nothing has been lost, he shall declare his (alleged) loss in the presence of god, and he shall double and pay for the (alleged) loss the amount for which he has made claim.

Some curious variations between the two regulations regarding trust funds and articles.

153. Responsibility for Animals.

Exod. 22 : 10-13: If a man deliver unto his neighbor an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing it; the oath of Jehovah shall be between them both, whether he hath not put his hand unto his neighbor's goods; and the owner thereof shall accept it, and he shall not make restitution. But if it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution unto the owner thereof. If it be torn in pieces, let him bring it for witness; he shall not make good that which was torn.

Ham., Nos. 263, 266, 267, 244: If a man lose an ox or sheep which is given to him, he shall restore to their owner ox for ox, sheep for sheep. If a visitation from god come upon a fold, or a lion kill, the shepherd shall declare himself innocent before god, and the owner of the fold shall suffer the damage.

If the shepherd be careless and he cause an accident in the fold, the shepherd shall make good in cattle and sheep the loss through the accident which he caused in the fold, and give them to their owner.

If a man hire an ox or an ass, and a lion kill it in the field, it is the owner's affair.

Hittite, No. 75 : If one harness up an ox, mule, or ass and it die, or a wolf tear it, or it disappear, then he must make good; but if he say, "It was slain by god," he must swear to that effect.

All three agree that losses incurred by wild beasts must be borne by the owner, unless the carelessness of the shepherd be involved therein.

Exod. 22 : 18: Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live.

154. Sorcery,

Bribe. Ham., No. 2: If a man charge a man with sorcery, and cannot prove it, he who is charged with sorcery shall go to the river, into the river he shall throw himself, and if the river overcome him, his accuser shall take to himself his house (estate). If the river show that man to be innocent and he come forth unharmed, he who charged him with sorcery shall be put to death. He who threw himself into the river shall take to himself the house of the accuser.

Assyrian, No. 48: If a man or a woman practise sorcery, and it be observed in their acts and one should furnish the proof of it, and convict them, the sorcerer should be put to death.

The penalty in all three cases is in practical agreement.

Exod. 23 : 8: And thou shalt take no bribe: for a bribe blindeth them that have sight, and perverteth the words of the righteous.

Ham., No. 4: If a man (in a suit at law) offer to the witness (as a bribe) grain or money, he shall himself bear the penalty imposed in that suit.

A sharp penalty attached to the violation of the Hammurabi law, while Exodus merely gives a prohibition and admonition.

155. Comparisons.

The above comparisons, likenesses, similarities, and analogies are a few of the many that might be made between these codes. If we pass over into Leviticus and Deuteronomy we find scores of other similarities of a remarkable character. These deal with such subjects as robbery, kidnapping, murder, right of the first-born, divorce, incest, punishment by flogging, and ill-treatment of animals. These likenesses are found to exist between documents that have been supposed to have originated up to 800 years apart. Then again, Hammurabi was the predecessor of

Moses by at least 800 years; the Hittites (and Assyrians) contemporaneous or later. Hammurabi lived in the midst of the civilization from which Abraham migrated when he went west to the Mediterranean coastlands.

The fact of the priority in time of Hammurabi's laws gives rise to a multitude of questions touching the criticism of the Pentateuch. These comparisons convince us that the laws of the Pentateuch have many points in common with the codes examined. Their intent, however, is not the same. The Old Testament is essentially religious while those of the other peoples are civil, with rare references to a deity. Years will be necessary, however, before we can adequately answer all the questions that arise in this study. Our conceptions of Moses and his resources must be materially modified. We must henceforth look upon him as a compiler for Israel of some laws which had been in oral or written existence more than a thousand years before his day. We must also modify our conceptions of how the words introductory to Moses' laws must be interpreted. The critical views of the origin of many of the laws ascribed to Moses locating them in the ninth, eighth, and seventh centuries, and even later B. C., must not only be modified, but in some cases, entirely rejected. The codes of the Assyrian, Hittite, and Sumerian peoples are just beginning to be studied in detail. A minute investigation of their contents and of their comparison with the Exodus and Hammurabi codes must receive close attention before we shall be ready to evaluate their import. The code of Hammurabi especially, with all its specifications, will necessitate the re-

writing of large parts of all works that deal with the civilizations that lie back of the constructive period of the history of the ancient Hebrews, and will doubtless vitally reassure us of the superiority of the religious and spiritual elements in the Old Testament.

NOTE ON FIG. 24, tail-piece below: A Sinaitic Bedawi, a full-bearded shepherd of the time of the Twelfth dynasty of Egypt, of a unique type. His decorative head-gear, high forehead, and neck ornament set him apart as a character of unusual strength.





CHAPTER XIII

REGULATIONS IN THE WILDERNESS AND AFTER

156. Offer-
ings. Though the Hebrew laws quoted in the preceding chapter have a background of religious life, they are preeminently civil in their provisions. Israel, however, had distinctively religious regulations, some of which we should designate as ordinances, ceremonies, rites. They were adopted at

NOTE ON FIG. 91, head-piece above: Creatures, part man, part lion or bull, part eagle, were set up by Assyrian and Hittite kings to protect the entrances or other parts of their palaces. Esarhaddon says, "I set up to the right and to the left lions and bulls of gigantic size, and wherever they stand they turn back the breast of the foe, and they guard the path and bless the way of the King who made them."

different periods in their history as a people, and served purposes specified at the time of their adoption.

One of the first and chiefest of their ceremonials was the offerings, known under several different names, which have corresponding words in Babylonian-Assyrian. These old nations of the Euphrates-Tigris valley possessed a full-fledged ritualistic system of their own which had some similarities to the Hebrew forms. The thing offered admits of large variations. The most primitive and sacrificial offering was that of a human being, somewhat current in Old Testament times and in Babylonia; reference to this was made in the offering of Isaac (§1116). But the only offerings presented by Israel were the products of their animals and the produce of their fields. The Babylonians and other peoples offered, in addition thereto, vegetables, wine, strong drink made from grain and dates, or honey and dates; honey, butter, oil, dates, and salt.

The bloody offerings in Babylonia among Sumerians and Semites were lambs, sheep, goats, bulls, birds. Shalmaneser III celebrated a victory near Lake Van by offering before an image of the god, sheep and bulls.

An incense-offering (1 Sam. 2 : 28) was made in the time of Gudea (2450 B. C.) in Babylonia, prepared out of fragrant woods, as cypress and cedar (Cyl. B, IV, 5). It has maintained a stable position all down through ancient and later Semitic worship.

The food-offering was likewise a part of the Babylonian ritual, as it had been of the Sumerian, and included twelve or three times twelve loaves, laid before the gods, to be made out of fine meal and to be sweet to the taste;

besides bread the Babylonians placed there the bloodless offerings named above.

A covenant-offering was made by the parties to the covenant, in substantially the same manner as in Israel (Gen. 15 : 9-18) and in Babylonia.

The sin (or expiatory) offering is found in Babylonia and in Israel with practically the same methods of application among both peoples.

157. Effect of Offerings, Purification. The offerer presented his gift spontaneously to God as a kind of tribute of loyalty and service, preeminently at state functions and feasts. The offering was supposed to influence God (and the gods) in favor of the giver (1 Sam. 13 : 12). "The gods rejoice over the common meal" is an expression of Esarhaddon in addressing the sun-god. This was done at least yearly (1 Sam. 20 : 6) and so specified by Tiglath-pileser I (VII, 16). In Babylonia, especially in the later period, the performance of sacrifice was the duty of the priests. Though in Assyria the king was the offerer and chief-priest, in Sumer the kingdom and priesthood were united in one and the same office as seen in the many descriptions left us.

Closely connected with the offering were purifications, carried out with the use of a specified formula. Along with water the Babylonians employed wine, honey, butter, salt, cedar-wood, cypress-wood, palm-wood, and all kinds of incense. Moses sent the scapegoat into the wilderness, which (wilderness) the Babylonians called "pure place," the place of demons. Contact with the dead and the unclean made one unclean both in Babylonia and in Israel. A bird in both rituals was thought of as bearing

away uncleanness (Lev. 14 : 7). The specifications for cleansing from leprosy (Lev. 14) though only civil, agree in part in both rituals; the Babylonians used cedar-wood, wool, and hyssop, and sprinkled the victim seven times, and concluded by offering a lamb.

158. Tabernacle and Contents. The tabernacle, whose model Moses is said to have received on the mountain (Exod. 25 : 9) was built as a center of worship, and as the dwelling-place of Jehovah in Israel's midst. Within the sacred precincts of that tent-of-meeting stood the ark of the covenant made of acacia wood, regarded as the "wood of life." This ark is said to have contained the tables (or tablets) of the covenant given Moses on Mt. Sinai. Symbolically the ark was the throne of Jehovah. On the Assyrian monuments we find a procession of gods in which an ark is one of the choicest figures borne on the shoulders of the carriers. The Hebrew ark could be carried as a separate shrine. Over the mercy-seat and protecting it at both ends with their wings were the cherubim—guardian messengers or divinities, such as frequently appear both in Egyptian and Babylonian sculpture. On an Egyptian divine ship we find a shrine pictured where the central figure is carefully protected by the wings of the attendant cherubim. In Babylonia such guardian beings stood at the entrance of temples and palaces, as at the garden of Eden (Gen. 3 : 24). The table of shewbread within the tabernacle was a part of the Babylonian ritual. When one wished to learn the will of God he came to the tabernacle where Moses by the Urim and Thummim inquired of Jehovah. ("Urim" means 'light,' and "Thummim," 'perfec-

tion.') Now this mysterious means may have been similar to that used by the Babylonians. It is thought the inquirer, as Moses did in this case, wore the ephod, a kind of priestly coat, in a pocket of which there was kept a tablet corresponding to the Babylonian tablet of destiny. When this was consulted in accordance with fixed regulations, it mysteriously conveyed to the inquirer an oracle which was a reply to his question.

159. Bull-worship.

When Moses broke down the patience of Israel by his long sojourn on Mt. Sinai, the people appealed to Aaron to make their gods to go before, "for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we know not what is become of him" (Exod. 32 : 1). Upon Aaron's request they turned over to him a mass of gold ornaments which he transformed into "a golden calf," and said: "These are thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. And when Aaron saw this, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation, and said, Tomorrow shall be a feast to Jehovah" (Exod. 32 : 4, 5).

Aaron was satisfying those who had looked to the bull-gods of Egypt with a divine reverence. For from the oldest times the temples of Egypt had their bull deities until all the bulls of the land, like the cats, became sacred. In Babylonia-Assyria, the gods Hadad-Ramman were represented as bulls. Different divinities are represented with horns. The gods in the Babylonian psalms are also mentioned as bulls. Canaan in pre-Israelitish days was the home of bull-worshippers. Monuments in southern Arabia give the bull as a symbol of a god. After Israel

entered Canaan the famous golden calves at Bethel and Dan are well known (1 Kings 12 : 28).

160. Substitution. "And he shall flay the burnt-offering and cut it into its pieces" (Lev. 1 : 6), that is, its natural pieces, as if prepared for a meal.

There must have been some special significance attached to this order, otherwise we might expect the animal to be burnt without such cutting apart.

There were several rather interesting superstitions in ancient Babylonia that touch this special ritual :

The young animal as an image of man : the young animal has he given as a substitute. The head of the young animal has he given for the head of a man. The neck of the young animal has he given for the neck of a man. The breast of the young animal has he given for the breast of a man (*CT XVII, 37, 14ff.*).

The Ashakku has approached his breast; the evil Utukku has approached his neck; the evil Etimmu has approached his abdomen; the evil Gallu has approached his hand; the evil god has approached his foot (*CT XVII, 9, 1ff.*).

When the right foot of a man is injured, take the right leg of a sheep; if the left foot of a man is injured, take the left leg of a sheep. (*CT XXIII, 12, 42f.*).

Some of the best interpreters see in this kind of ritual an explanation, not stated in Leviticus, whereby man, according to the superstitions current in those days, might be loosed from the ban of evil demons, which were supposed to beset men's lives at every turn.

The offering thus cut into its pieces was burned on the altar (Lev. 1 : 9), perhaps as a conclusion of the ritual begun in the parallels quoted above. The animal pieces were supposed to bear the afflicting sins, sickness and the like. The following parallels out of Babylonia are significant :

As the pelt of a sheep, torn into bits, is thrown into the fire, as it shall no more return to the sheep . . . so will the curse . . . the sickness, the pain, the misdeed, the folly, the offense of the sickness that abides in my body, in my flesh, in my limbs . . . be as this torn-up sheep's pelt! Today may the blazing flame consume it; may the ban turn aside!¹

161. Swine Prohibited. *Leviticus 11 : 7, 8*, says:

And the swine, because he parteth the hoof, and is clovenfooted, but cheweth not the cud, he is unclean unto you. Of their flesh ye shall not eat, and their carcasses ye shall not touch; they are unclean unto you.

In Babylonia swine should not be eaten on the thirtieth day of the fifth month, possibly because that day was dedicated to that animal.² Though swine's flesh was unclean it was offered to evil demons. Swine were the animals of the god Tammuz.³ The sacred character of swine in early Palestine is seen in the remains of Gezer, where bones of these very animals were found by a religious altar.

Israel's prohibition against the use of such animals may have been partly (1) to prevent a too easy falling into the habit of the native Canaanites, and (2) to protect the people of the land from the evil effects of eating pork—a hygienic provision.

162. Perfectness of Priests.

Leviticus 21 : 16-24 emphasizes the bodily perfectness of the priests in all the service of Israel. Babylonian ritual has some interesting parallels along the same line. The quotation is fragmentary, though the substance of it is quite plain.

¹ Zimmern, *Beiträge*, 30, 93ff.

² Jastrow, *Religion*, I, p. 87.

³ *HAOG*, pp. 263-273.

When the priest arranges an offering, (approaches) the regular abodes of Shamash and Adad. . . . his limbs must be sound. A squint-eyed (!) man or one with broken fingers must not approach the place of decision of the soothsayer.⁴

The anointed one out of an ancient family, a scion of Enmeduranki, of the king of Sippar from a priestly blood, of a noble stock, also himself perfect in development and limbs, shall appear before Shamash and Adad at the places of soothsaying and decision.⁵ The son of a soothsayer, however, who is not of noble stock, and in himself is not perfect in development and limbs, is squint-eyed, has defective teeth, broken fingers . . . cannot guard the commands of Shamash and Adad.

These provisions of the Babylonian ritual are permeated with the idea of a sanctity attached to the performance of duties directly affecting their gods, as are the Hebrew restrictions for priests.

163. Priest's The provision for the priests' support is not peculiar to the Hebrew legislation.

**Main-
tenance.**

In Babylonia we discover that the so-called "Cultus Table of Sippar," specified about the ninth century B. C., regarding the history of the temple of Shamash, that the priests should have a definite income, and that Nabu-pal-iddin of the same century fixed that income for long years. It specified that provision must be made for the support of the priests: part of the annual offering of lambs made by the king; loins, skin, part of the back, tendons, half of the stomach (?), half of the entrails, two ankles (and feet); a pot of meat broth, etc.

Besides the above, they received meal, dates, fish, different kinds of clothes, and the like.

The most elaborate parallel to the Old Testament pas-

⁴ Zimmern, *Beiträge*, p. 96.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

sages is found in a Punic so-called "Table of Offerings of Massilia," from the third century B. C. The table is badly broken so that the explicit meaning of many passages is uncertain. The specific parts that the priests are entitled to are given with each animal offered, but the breaks in the text here make a translation very incomplete and unsatisfactory. The animals mentioned are ox, calf, stag, ram, goat, lamb, kid, . . . , bird. ⁶

In Egypt priests enjoyed at some periods special endowments that maintained them; and in addition in the thirtieth century B. C. and for three hundred years thereafter, they were exempt from all state dues and levies by a royal decree issued by Pepi II of the Sixth dynasty. ⁷

164. **Community Responsibility.** Deuteronomy (21 : 1-9) specifies that if one be found slain in a field, and the slayer be not known nor found out, the city nearest the slain person shall be held responsible for his murder, and shall make a requisite expiation for the crime.

The Hammurabi code has a similar provision (No. 23) :

When a robber is not arrested, the robbed shall present before god what has befallen him; then the locality and the chief of police in whose district or territory the deed took place, shall compensate him for the damage he suffered.

That the Hammurabi code's idea was also indigenous in Canaan appears in a report made by Wenamon of

⁶ The text and translation (German) are given in full in Lidsbarski, *Nord-semitische Epigraphik*, Vol. II, Table XI, 1.

⁷ Breasted, *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 81.

Egypt. The story says that this Egyptian sojourned at Dor on the Canaanitish coast, and was robbed by one of his own people who fled. He appealed to one of the princes of the place that he, according to his possessions, should compensate Wenamon for his loss. The prince replied that he didn't understand the complaint that he (Wenamon) brought before him. Said he:

If the thief belonged to my land, and embarked on thy ship, to steal thy god, then I would compensate thee out of my coffers; but the thief who robbed you, belonged to your ship.

Compared with Hammurabi the basis here is modified to the extent that a community can be held responsible only for a theft committed by a member of that community.

An Assyrian ritual seems to touch this Old Testament case in a report in Ashurbanipal (IV, 86ff.) which says the king reported that the cities of Babylon, Cutha, and Sippar had become unclean on account of the corpses of numerous dead. He then says:

By priestly services I cleansed the shrines of the gods, swept clean their littered streets; their angry gods and angry goddesses I appeased by lamentations and penitential songs.

Deut. 24: 1: When a man taketh a wife, and married her, then it shall be, if she find no favor in his eyes, because he hath found some unseemly thing in her, that he shall write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.

165. Deuteronomic Divorce.

Ham., Nos. 138, 139: If a man send away his wife who has borne him no children, then he shall give her money according to her dowry; also the present which she brought from the house of her father, shall he replace and send her away. If the dowry was not at hand, then he shall give her at the separation one mana of silver.

Assyrian, Nos. 38, 39: If a man send away his wife, he may voluntarily give her something; unwillingly he shall give her nothing; empty she goes out. If a wife dwell in the house of her father and she leave her husband, then he shall take the presents (!) which he gave her, the marriage settlement which he brought, he shall not touch.

Sumerian, No. 6: If a man say to his wife, "You are not my wife," then he shall pay her a half-mana of silver.

The Deuteronomic law is rather harsh as compared with the other three Oriental provisions. It seems to recognize no right of the wife to leave her husband, while the Hammurabi code not quoted above specifies instances where the woman was justified in doing so.

If brethren dwell together, and one of them die and

166. Levirate Marriage. have no son, the wife of the dead shall not be married without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her (Deut. 25 : 5).

This statement is made as if it were a well-known custom and should be fully observed.

Some significant parallels are as follows:

Hittite law (No. 193): If a man marry a woman, then the man die, his brother shall marry the woman, or his father shall take her; if the father also die, then can his brother, who has already married a woman, take her; there is no penalty.

Assyrian No. 31: If a father has brought and has carried to the house of his son's (prospective) father-in-law a present—the woman not yet being given to him—and his second son, whose (prospective) wife still lives in her paternal home, die—the (prospective) wife of the dead son shall he give in marriage to the other son, who had (by proxy) brought certain gifts to the house of his (prospective) father-in-law. If the lord of the daughter (=the father) who has received the present, no longer

consent to hand over his daughter—if it pleases him, the father who brought the present shall take his (prospective) daughter-in-law, and to his son he shall give her; and if he please, everything which he brought, lead, silver, gold, non-eatables, shall he take back; things eatable he shall not touch.

No. 32: If any one has brought presents to the house of his (prospective) father-in-law, and if his (prospective) wife has died; and if there are other daughters of the (prospective) father-in-law, with the consent of the (prospective) father-in-law, in place of the deceased woman, he can espouse a daughter of the (prospective) father-in-law; and if he wish, he can take back the money which he had given; wheat, sheep and everything which is eatable shall they not give him; he shall receive the money only.

No. 44: If any one has poured oil on the head (of a woman), or has brought *products of the field*, and the son the woman had been promised, die or flee, among the remaining sons (of the father), from the oldest to the youngest who is ten years (old), to that one which he wishes he shall give her. If the father die, and if the son to whom a woman has been promised die also, and if there be a little son of the dead, being ten years old, this one shall espouse (her).

Strangely enough the Hammurabi code has no parallels to the levirate provision of Deuteronomy. But the Hittite and Assyrian regulations show us how intricately those laws were woven into the warp and woof of those northern nations.

The blessings and curses of Deuteronomy chapter 28 have a parallel in the compacts between two kings of the north country, Shubbi-luli-uma a Hittite king, and a Mitanian king Mati-u-aza. I shall give only the parts of the treaty that echo the principles of Deuteronomy Chapter 28:⁸

⁸ Keils *Boghaz-Kewi*, Part I, p. 40ff.

....[These gods] by the words of this treaty shall be present, shall hear and be witnesses: If you, Mati-u-aza, the son of the king, and the Kharri-people do not keep the words of this treaty, then you, Mati-u-aza, and the Kharri-people with your land, your wives and all your possessions the lords of the oath shall destroy. . . And you, Mati-u-aza, together with the other wife whom you shall take, and the Kharri-people with their wives, their children, and their lands, shall have no posterity. And these gods, the lords of the oath, shall bring poverty and misery upon you; and you, Mati-u-aza, as you swore by these gods, with thy land shall be broken like a reed; thy name and thy posterity by other wives whom thou shalt take, shall be wiped off the earth. And you, Mati-u-aza, shall not . . . good and peace . . . among the Kharri-peoples shall thy name perish. The land . . . shall be desert, the soil of thy land shall be dry. . .

If you, Mati-u-aza, the son of the king, and the Kharri-people keep this treaty, then shall you, Mati-u-aza, with thy wife (daughter of the Hittite king), thy sons and thy grandchildren, you, the Kharri-people with their wives, their children these gods will guard, and the land of Mitanni shall as formerly . . . lie peaceful in its place. You, Mati-u-aza, thy sons and thy grandchildren (sons) of the daughter of the Hittite king and the Kharri-people shall be established in sovereignty forever. The throne of thy father shall stand in the midst of the land of Mitanni forever.

The Deuteronomic list recites the blessings of obedience and the curses that would follow disobedience; the Hittite treaty reverses that order, and warns the Mitannian king against any infraction of the provisions of the treaty, and closes with the stability and perpetuity that would follow observance of the solemn agreement.

168. Minor Parallels.

Other minor parallels in the Pentateuch receive a ray of light. To be explicit in a few items, we find parallels on Numbers 21 : 8f., "the fiery serpent," in Babylonia and Canaan; on righteous judgment (Deut. 16 : 18f.), in Hammurabi No. 5; on the Asherah (Deut. 16 : 21f.), in the Amarna letters, seal-

cylinders of Cyprus, and in Babylonia-Assyria; on the horse in Palestine (Deut. 17 : 16), in Hittite inscriptions, in Babylonia and in Egypt; on false testimony (Deut. 18 : 1ff.), in the Hammurabi code No. 3, and in the Assyrian code Nos. 19, 20; on heirship to a father's estate (Deut. 21 : 15-17), in the Hammurabi code Nos. 165, 167; on driving out a rebellious son (Deut. 21 : 18-21), in the Hammurabi code Nos. 168, 169, and Sumerian family laws Nos. 3, 4; the penalty of impalement (Deut. 21 : 22, 23), in the Hammurabi code No. 153, Assyrian code No. 54; the responsibility of the master-builder (Deut. 22 : 8) in the Hammurabi code Nos. 229-231; treatment of a fleeing slave (Deut. 23 : 15, 16) in the Hammurabi code No. 16, Sumerian laws, No. 5f., Hittite laws Nos. 20-24; and many others of minor consequence taking the narrative in the by and large.

NOTE ON FIG. 6, tail-piece below: The wild nomadic bowmen, the Shasu, of the deserts of Sinai and Arabia, were a pest to the Egyptians. This is a good specimen of them as drawn by the Egyptian artists.





CHAPTER XIV

ISRAEL SETTLING IN CANAAN

169. General Facts. The land of Canaan (Palestine) and pre-Israelitish Canaan have been discussed in Chapters VI and IX. We are now prepared to appreciate in part at least the conglomerate peoples, languages, and religions that seethed in the present

NOTE ON FIG. 113, head-piece above: One of the picturesque figures on the Egyptian monuments is that of a Philistine. His peculiar decorative feathered head-dress secured by a strap under his chin, his long aquiline nose, his dignified bearing, give us an idea of the kind of people whose raids and dashes into the hills were a menace to the Hebrews during all their occupancy of Palestine.

Canaan which the Israelites faced. It would be quite aside from our aim to take up the various theories which brought the tribes of Israel into the "promised land." Suffice it to say that Joshua was a worthy successor of Moses, was a historical personage, was a leader of character and devotion, whose highest ambition seems to have been the acquirement of a homeland for Israel "in this (his) generation." Only such large parallels as shall flood our story with light of any kind shall receive extended notice. The shifting of positions of prominent scholars from the mythical or traditional to a more or less historical one, is due to just the kind of light which pours in on us from the hieroglyphs of Egypt, the excavated mounds of Canaan-Palestine, the tablets and sculptures of Asia Minor, and the quantities of antiquities that Babylonia and Elam have contributed to the faithful excavators and decipherers of today.

170. **Lebanon.** Among the kings that answered the alarm against Joshua were those on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea in front of *Lebanon*, (Josh. 9 : 1). This mountain was called in Akkadian *La-ab-na-nu*, *Lab-na-a-ni*, *Lib-na-nu*; and Hittite, *Ni-ib-la-ni*, and *La-ab-la-ni*, *La-ab-la-na*. The first known mention of the mountain under this name was in the inscriptions of the Egyptian king, Thutmose III (1501-1447 B. C.), in reports from the princes of the Lebanons. Seti I, king of Egypt (1313-1292 B. C.), reported that he brought cedar-wood from Lebanon. The Hittite king Shubbi-luli-uma, about the same time used the form *Niblani* named above. Wenamon who wrote about the twelfth or eleventh century B. C., mentions Lebanon

several times as the possession of the Egyptian god Amon.

In Babylonian-Assyrian sources, Lebanon is first named by Ashurnatsirpal (884-860 B. C.), and thereafter often in the inscriptions of several Assyrian kings, who imported cedar for their palaces from the far west.

The cedar taken to Lagash by Gudea (2450 B. C.) for building the temple of Eninnu, was most probably dragged from the Lebanons to, and floated down, the Euphrates. He mentions Amanus in the cedar mountains of the West-land as the source of his cedar timber. Interesting it is to remember that this same majestic mountain overlooking the Mediterranean Sea was the source of the cedar-wood used by Solomon in building his temple and royal buildings at Jerusalem in the tenth century B. C.

171. Early Jerusalem. Jerusalem was a fortified center when Joshua's conquest began (Josh. 10 : 1). Earlier when the Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty ruled all Canaan-Syria, in the days of Amenhotep III and IV, Jerusalem was a royal residence. The governor of that city-state, Abdi-hepa, sent at least six letters in cuneiform script to his overlord in Egypt, begging for assistance against the invading Habiri (§108). The name of the city he gave as *U-ru-sa-lim*. The second element in the name of the ruler of Jerusalem, *hepa*, was the name of a Hittite goddess. Presumably this was a kind of center of a Hittite colony. The six letters mentioned above, contain a peculiar Hittite determinative used before localities, before the name Jerusalem indicating "the land of the city," and found only in these six letters. This points to Hittite influence in letters written in the lan-

guage of Babylonia to a king of Egypt in the fifteenth century B. C.—a remarkable combination of diverse national elements in Canaan. In the Assyrian inscriptions of Sennacherib, the city appears as *Ur-sa-li-im-mu*, and *Ur-sa-li-im-ma*. Evidence that Jerusalem had an early Canaanitish history is seen in the Parker excavations under the city during the years 1909-11, in the region of the Siloam tunnel, where he found pottery dating from old Canaanitic times and of a distinctly primitive type.

Some of the cities occupied by the Canaanites were large and well fortified, and continued to hold their prominence even after the invasion and occupation of the Israelites.

172. A List of Canaanitish Cities.

We shall note a few in the order of their occurrence in the book of Joshua. (1) *Lachish* (Josh. 10 : 3) is mentioned in an Egyptian papyrus of about 2000 B. C.,¹ and in one of the letters sent by Abdi-hepa governor of Jerusalem, to the king of Egypt, about 1400 B. C., Lachish had been plundered by the Habiri. Upon Joshua's invasion it joined the allies against him. In 701 B. C. Sennacherib besieged this fortress, broke through the walls with battering-rams, and plundered the city.² Petrie's and Bliss' excavations of Tell el-Hesi (ancient Lachish) have been recited (§73).

(2) *Aijalon* (Josh. 10 : 12) is first mentioned in Abdi-hepa's letters to the king of Egypt, in which he complains that the Habiri are marching against it, and that one of his caravans had been plundered near that city.

(3) *Gezer* (Josh. 10 : 33) was one of the oldest cities in Palestine. It was occupied by Semites, according to

¹ *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1914, 651ff.

² See Fig. 86, at p. 312.



Fig. 109. Ophel Hill in Earliest Jerusalem

The original fortress (2 Sam. 5 : 6-9) captured by David's army (8182) was the southeast corner of Jerusalem, just below the Temple area. It was Zion, the city of David, which depended for its water on the Virgin's Fountain. All doubt on these points has now vanished before the results of recent excavations in the neighborhood.

Macalister's reckonings, about 2500 B. C. . From 2000 to 1500 B. C. it had intimate business relations with Egypt. In 1500 Thutmose III plundered it, and it is often mentioned in the Amarna letters. At this time it was on the side of the enemies of Egypt. It is mentioned on the "Israel-stela" of Merneptah, king of Egypt, who calls himself the "plunderer of Gezer." In Judges 1 : 29 Israel was not able to conquer Gezer. Macalister's significant discoveries here have been already described (§74).

(4) Hazor (Josh. 11 : 1) is mentioned for the first time in the list of cities captured by King Thutmose III of Egypt. His successor Amenhotep II reported that he had plundered it. Two Amarna letters from the king of this city, Abdi-tirshi, were sent to the king of Egypt to reassure him of his loyalty to that monarch. King Abimilki of Tyre, however, wrote the king of Egypt that the king of this same Hazor had left his fortress and espoused the cause of the Habiri.

(5) Taanach (Josh. 12 : 21) is first mentioned in an Egyptian papyrus about 2000 B. C., and then by Thutmose III king of Egypt in his description of the battle of Megiddo about 1500 B. C., where the southern wing of his enemy had taken its stand by Taanach. He also mentions this place as one of the Canaanitish cities plundered in his campaigns. The Amarna letters complain of the plundering character of its population. When Sellin excavated this old site (Tell Ta'annek) he found seven cuneiform tablets of the general linguistic character of the Amarna letters, and also other valuable antiquities. These letters name the governor of the city as Ishtar-washur.

The gods in vogue were Ashera and the Egyptian god Amon. Four hundred years later the city was mentioned by the Egyptian king Shishak.

(6) Megiddo (Josh. 12 : 21) is first mentioned in an Egyptian papyrus about 2000 B. C. Its next mention is found in the battle-record of Megiddo by Thutmose III. Its location at the pass through Carmel was strategic. Progress northward was checked until it was taken. In the Amarna letters its ruler, Birid-ia, sent assurance of his fealty to the king of Egypt. About 400 years later Shishak king of Egypt mentions Megiddo among his captured prizes.

(7) Kedesh (Josh. 12 : 22) was besieged, stormed, and captured by Seti I of Egypt about 1300 B. C., when it was the chief city of a kingdom of the Amorites. The name of this place means "holy," and probably was connected with the worship of the Semitic goddess by that name mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions, called the "lady of the heavens, ruler of all gods . . . beloved of the sun-god."

(8) Gebal (Josh. 13 : 5) (*Gu-ub-li*, *Gu-ub-la*) that is, Byblos, is found in Egyptian inscriptions reaching back to 2400 B. C. in a tomb inscription, and in one of about 2000 B. C. Sinuhe (§104) in his amusing description of his trip in Syria mentions this city. Thutmose III speaks of ships "out of Gebal." It is mentioned in about seventy Amarna letters, sent by its prince Rib-addi to the king of Egypt. He claims to be a faithful subject of the king, and loudly complains of the threatening character of the Habiri. He says in one letter, "Since you are father and lord to me, I have turned my face to you." About

400 years later, Wenamon's report of his trip to Canaan-Syria mentions a Zakar-baal ruler of Gebal who no longer recognized the sovereignty of the king of Egypt. Several Assyrian kings mention in their annals the voluntary submission of Gebal. Among these are Ashurnatsirpal (884-860 B. C.), Sennacherib (705-681 B. C.), Esarhaddon (681-668 B. C.), and Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.).

(9) Sharuhēn in Simeon (Josh. 19 : 6) is mentioned for the first time in the account of Ahmose's (I) six years' siege and then plunder of it after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. Thutmose III mentions it a short time afterwards in his annals. About 500 years later the Egyptian king Shishak names it in his list of captured cities.

(10) Joppa (Josh. 19 : 46) (Babylonian: *Ja-ap-pu-u*, *Ja-pu-u*) is mentioned by Thutmose III. The Amarna letters name it as presented to the Pharaoh. Sennacherib plundered it in 701 B. C.



Fig. 50. A Fish-god

Fishes appear on many monuments as associated with worship in the Near East. This is one form of the god, the other being Oannes, with human face and body, with fish head and back, which abode with men in the daytime and swam off into the deep at night (Fig. 37).

173. Sacred Shrines.

When the Israelites entered Canaan they found as we have seen many old and well-built cities whose history stretched back more than one thousand years. There were also some especially designated sacred shrines of the Canaanites, located within some of these cities. Among these were Hebron, Beersheba, Shechem, Mahanaim, and others which the Israelites continued to reverence as sacred cen-

ters of worship. Probably, like the Christian missionaries and the Crusaders in the Middle Ages, they built their churches on the sites of the pre-Christian (heathen) temples and shrines, and devoted these places to the worship of the true God. But the atmosphere and influence of the old Canaanitish ordinances and ritual could not be wiped out in a day.

Besides, there were still influential citizens of the old system who did not at once surrender their beloved religion for that of the invader, the Hebrew. Indeed there were still some strong centers which Joshua had not captured, and which maintained the Canaanitish ritual with all its charms and allurements for the Hebrews of the younger class. No authority in Israel was able to prevent such tendencies on the part of the Hebrews.

174. Ashkelon, The territorial assignments to Judah included the city of Ashkelon (Assyrian: *Is-ka-al-lu-na*, *As-ka-lu-na-a*, *Ash-ka-lu-na*), one of the great Philistine capitals. This city is first mentioned in an Egyptian papyrus of about 2000 B. C. In the Amarna documents the ruler of this city, Widia, sent seven letters to the king of Egypt, couched in terms which seem rather lukewarm in his attitude toward his overlord. Abdi-hepa of Jerusalem confirms our suspicions of his inner indifference. Ramses II 200 years later was obliged to face an uprising in this city, and he suppressed it and plundered the city. Merneptah likewise reported that he overthrew it. Successive Assyrian monarchs, Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.), Sennacherib (705-681 B. C.), Esarhaddon (681-668 B. C.), and Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.), each gave Ashkelon a castigation that seems never to

have taught her a lesson—at least, did not prevent her from repeating the same folly whenever it seemed that another opportunity had arisen.

175. Baal. The Old Testament, and especially many passages in the book of Judges, mention the Baalim as objects of worship. Israel's apostasies in Judges seem to have been largely due to their worship of these Canaanitish deities. The word is derived from the Hebrew word *baal*, "lord, master." It occurs also in Babylonian as *ba'-al*; in the Amarna letters one form is *ba-lu*; it is also found in Aramaic and Phœnician, Punic and Egyptian. It appears in the Old Testament in the names of deities, of persons, and of places. As part of a name of a divinity we find Baal-berith (Judg. 9 : 4, "lord of a covenant"); Baal-zebub (2 Kings 1 : 2, "lord of a fly"); Baal-peor (Num. 25 : 3, 5, "lord of Peor"). As part of the names of persons we find Baal-hanan (Gen. 36 : 38, 39), Babylonian, *Baal-hanunû*, ("lord of Hanan"); Baal-iah (1 Chron. 12 : 5, "lord of Jah"); Merib-baal (1 Chron. 8 : 34, "baal is advocate"). As part of the names of



Fig. 20. The God Baal Carried in Procession

When the Assyrian army captured a city the warriors sometimes carried the captured gods in procession on their shoulders. Baal was a prominent deity in the countries on the east shores of the Mediterranean Sea, especially in Phœnicia. This is really a Susian deity brought by the army of Ashurbanipal into Assyria, probably from Susa. Here he holds in his hands a hammer and a handful of thunderbolts (Fig. 157).

places we discover Baal-gad (Josh. 11 : 17, "lord of a troop"); Baal-hamon (Song of Songs 8 : 11, "baal of Hamon"); Baal-hazor (2 Sam. 13 : 23, "lord of Hazor"); Baal-hermon (Judg. 3 : 3, "lord of Hermon"). In Babylonia it occurs in such names as *Ba-li-ra-si*, *Ba-li-tsa-pu-na*.

The feminine form of the word in such names as Baalah, of a city in Judah (Josh. 15 : 9), of a city in the south of Judah (Josh. 15 : 29), of a range of hills between Ekron and Jabneel (Josh. 15 : 11). Another feminine form is Baalath (Josh. 19 : 44), Baalath-beer (Josh. 19 : 8). Baalah is found in Egyptian preceded by the determinative for "god."

The Amarna letters from Gebal contain an expression which is equivalent to Baalath-gebal, "the goddess of Byblos." These many names whose principal element is *baal* point to the simple fact that either a divinity or a shrine is involved where worship was carried on according to the Canaanitish or Phœnician ritual.

176. **Israel's Defections.** After the partial conquest of this land and the informal settlement of the tribes among their conquered and unconquered neighbors,

we find Israel subjected to the fiercest temptations. Peaceful proximity to the corrupt customs and worship of their neighbors was a subtle danger. It soon resulted in friendly commercial intercourse, in mixed marriages, in a kind of free and easy coalescence of manners and customs. The seductive religious rites and festivals of these new neighbors, appealing especially to the physical senses of Israel, soon made captives of the unwary conquerors, and won them over to the practises of the Canaanites.

The debilitating effect of the new life in settled communities soon made havoc of the homely virtues of the sturdy nomads of the desert. The weakening of their moral and religious fiber made the territory of the Israelites a fair field for the ever-watchful and waiting enemies. Israel had broken much of the resistance of the native population, and they themselves, though still superior in military strength, were in a fair way to lose the advantages gained in the beginning. The immediate neighbors to this new coalescence of populations seem still to have cherished a fear of such intrepid invaders as Israel had been.

**177. Rise of
Hero-
Judges.** But far up around the river Euphrates in the land of Aram-naharaim there was a king ambitious to try his military skill on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. This Cushan-rishathaim carried his arms down through Syria into Canaan. He was probably a successor of the Mitanian kings already mentioned. He seems to have been the first to make a foreign military campaign into Canaan since Israel had settled therein. Just how he exerted his authority, and how he oppressed the Israelites during the eight years of his sovereignty, we do not know. But Israel's distress under this foreign lord for eight years reached to heaven, and Jehovah found for them a savior, by the name of Othniel, possibly one of those trained in the army of Joshua. The Mesopotamians were driven out and Israel once more became independent and remained so for more than a generation (40 years). Other enemies began to appear nearer home. Moab crossed the Jordan, and subdued southern Israel, and established her headquarters at Jericho, and tried her game of oppression

on the weakened invaders for eighteen years. Ehud, a valiant Benjaminite, by a deed of treachery, slew the Moabite king, aroused his own countrymen and slew or drove out of the country every Moabite. The unconquered Canaanites of northern Palestine overcame the newcomers and held Israel under their yoke for twenty years, and until the victorious stroke of Deborah and Barak (Judg. 4 and 5). Next came bands of Midianites from the east who ravaged the rich territory of Israel and so terrified its inhabitants that they sought hiding-places from these robber raids in the holes of the hills and mountains. This annual invasion was finally brought to a stop by the rise and valor of Gideon and his valiant band of three hundred heroes (Judg. 6 to 8). The next threat and oppression came from another eastern tribe, the Ammonites. The frontier free-booter Jephthah, armed with a reckless daring, and being a devotee to a crude form of religion, smote the enemy full in the face. His rugged zeal and fidelity led him to fulfil in all of its horrible details the conditions of his vow to the Almighty (Judg. 10 and 11), for such a vow was inviolate.

178. The Philistines. Israel's victories had been rather evanescent, for they soon again went down the old path-way toward defeat. The Philistines on the southwest, now grown in power, had begun to spread their net. Israel soon fell into its meshes. A hardy race centered in five strong cities, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gaza, Ekron, and Gath, they early threatened the liberty of the Israelitish communities. Far from Semitic in descent, they nevertheless soon adopted the manners, language, and even some of the religions of their neighbors. Their

first raids were repelled by the valor of Shamgar, while later on Samson played tricks with their armies. Finally, however, entrapped by the unfair arts of Delilah, he met a tragical death, but succeeded, none the less, in taking dire vengeance on his persecutors.

During the days of the judges, we find an incredibly corrupt condition of affairs (Judg. 19 to 21). The prevalence of priestly prostitution to the service of idols, of unspeakable crimes, kindled a flame of internal strife, in which Benjamin was almost exterminated. This state of things opened the door for new aggressions of the Philistines, who were not slow to see and improve their opportunity. By the time of the closing years of Eli the Philistines were able to carry out their own plans of conquest despite every opposing faction of Israel. Their advance was first successfully resisted only by the rise and power of Samuel. Israel's humiliation and deg-



Fig. 37. The Fish-god Dagon, of Assyria

Was first found in Nimrud-Calah (Fig. 29), in the palace of Ashurnatsirpal (884-860 B. C.). It represents a priest masked as Ea-Oannes, the god of the deep and of knowledge. In the daytime he mingled with and taught men, and at night he disappeared in the deep (cf. Fig. 50).

radation in the presence of these persistent warriors led to the unification as never before of the scattered strength of Israel. It demonstrated to them that if they were to have a career as a people, they must stand together and fight together against their common foes. Israel's settlement and defections and oppressions in their new territory tried them in the fire, melted them in the furnace, and burnt out of them some of the dross that had interfered with their unity, and comparatively unified them as a people.

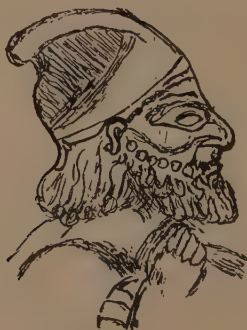
179. Writing in Judges. Before we leave this period we wish to ask a question which often rises regarding these times. When did writing first appear in Israel? In Judges 8 : 14 we read, "And he caught a young man of the men of Succoth, and inquired of him: and he wrote down for him the (names of) princes of Succoth, and the elders thereof, seventy and seven men." What language, or what script did this young man use in making his list? In other words, did Israel use the language and forms of the Canaanites whom they had conquered? Or, did they bring in and use a language and script peculiarly their own? What language was in use in Canaan before the invasion under Joshua? So far as our real information goes the rulers and governors of the chief cities in Canaan from the border of Egypt to the northern limits of Phœnicia used the language and cuneiform script of Babylonia in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B. C., not merely to communicate with the kings of Babylonia, but strangest of all, with the kings of Egypt who held political sway over this entire stretch of the east coast of the Mediter-

anean Sea. In addition to the Amarna evidence we have seen that Bliss found a cuneiform tablet of this same period in Lachish, and Sellin found seven entire and others in fragments in his diggings at Taanach. But the oldest writing was on a seal-cylinder of Atanahili in Babylonian and Egyptian script of about 2000 B. C., of the time of the First Babylonian dynasty. The long list of cities captured by Thutmose III of Egypt and reported on his monument seems to have been built on names written in cuneiform script.

The Babylonian language and script were current in Canaan long before Joshua's day, even while the political sovereignty of the country was in the hands of the Egyptians. Such preponderance of Egyptian authority would naturally open the door for the introduction of the language of the Nile into Canaan-Syria. (1) The seal-cylinder above referred to of about 2000 B. C., carried on it some Egyptian hieroglyphs. (2) In the Egyptian travel story of Sinuhe the prince of one of the small states of northern Syria says, "Thou art happy with me, for thou hearest the language of Egypt." (3) Wenamon, the Egyptian who went by ship from Egypt to Byblos, stopping on the way at several ports, tells of how the Egyptian king had sent some papyrus rolls, presumably in Egyptian, to Byblos, for reading. (4) The Hittites who had colonies in Canaan-Syria and their headquarters in Asia Minor, used the Babylonian script for writing their own language soon after the Amarna period. (5) The Israelites who settled in Canaan in the thirteenth or twelfth century B. C., perhaps used the Phœnician script, for that is the language which we find on antiquities whose date falls

in the period after Israel's settlement. The oldest scraps of the language are those found on ostraca unearthed at Samaria, of about the middle of the ninth century B. C., and on a seal called "Shema," belonging to a servant of Jeroboam, found at Tell el-Mutesellim, Megiddo. So that probably at the period of the war in which this incident took place the written language was the script of the Phœnicians, as seen on the Moabite stone noticed later on in our story (§§198-200).

NOTE ON FIG. 76, tail-piece below: The earliest Assyrian portrait of an Israelite is found on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (860-825 B. C.). This "close-up" of one of the tribute-bearers (§197) of Jehu is characteristic of the entire line (842 B. C.).





CHAPTER XV

FOREIGN PEOPLES AND ISRAEL'S MONARCHY

180. Saul Wars on Philistia.

The unification of the tribes of Israel under one ruler was consummated by the efforts of Samuel, the last judge, and the founder of the so-called prophetic order. Under divine direction he selected privately and publicly a Ben-jaminites, Saul, to be the first king of the new kingdom of Israel. The first test of Saul's leadership was in a war against the Ammonites east of the Jordan. His complete victory over this enemy won for him public enthusiasm and a comparative unification of all the tribes of Israel. His early administration is seen mainly in his energetic conduct of war with the minor peoples adjacent to the borders of his kingdom. The Philistines, especially received early and prompt attention, and were driven out of many of the fastnesses of the land. Jonathan's valor and action were prominent initiatives in this victorious result. One of the chief figures in Saul's successes against the

NOTE ON FIG. 75, head-piece above: In Fig. 73, the notable "Israel" stela of Merneptah, in the second line from the bottom occurs this word in Egyptian hieroglyphs. It concludes with a man, a woman, and a plural sign, three upright lines in a row, indicating "many of them." The connection is "Israel is laid waste, not [exists] his seed (grain), Syria has become as a widow."

Philistines was found in David, a valiant youthful warrior of Bethlehem. David's clash with Goliath (1 Sam. 17 : 1-54) has a parallel in the Egyptian story of Sinuhe and his adventures in Canaan about 2000 B. C. Sinuhe reports:

Once on a time there came a strong man from Retenu and challenged me in my tent. He was a combatant without a rival, and he had it (the land Retenu) completely subdued. He said he wished to fight with me; he meant, he intended to rob me. He proposed to make booty of my herds, on the advice of his tribe. Then the prince (with whom I lived) took counsel with me, and I said: "I do not know him. . . Lo, I am like an ox free to graze where he pleases, in the midst of another herd. The bull of the herd charges it. . . If it wants to fight him, so let it express its desire! . ." During the night I stretched my bow and put my arrow in place: I sharpened (?) my dagger and polished my weapons. When it became light, and the land of Retenu drew up (in battle array); its tribes had assembled, and its neighboring peoples had joined with them. When they thought of this fight, each heart burned for me. Women and men cried out, and every one was anxious about me. They said: "Is there indeed any strong one who can fight with him?" Then he took his shield and dagger, and held an armful (?) of spears (?) . . . He made for me, and I shot him, so that my arrow stuck fast in his neck. He cried out and fell on his face, and I pinned him down with his dagger. I raised my cry of victory on his back, and all the Asiatics (in his army) cried out. I praised the god Montu (Egyptian war-god), but his people sorrowed for him. The prince Emuienshi closed me in his arms. Then I took over his possessions and his flocks—what he had thought to do to me, that did I to him. . .

In spite of a few uncertain words in this story, the fight of David and Goliath seems to be a kind of echo of this primitive account of the valor of this famous Egyptian traveler who for several years sojourned in the land of Syria about 1970 B. C.

181. Saul's Desperation and Death. Saul's activity against the southwest did not cease until he had smitten the Amalekites, in return for their blow at Israel immediately upon their escape from Egypt. The results of this campaign under the orders of Samuel the prophet proved to be Saul's Waterloo. His disobedience of the direct commands given him brought the prophet's sharpest denunciation (1 Sam. 15 : 22, 23). Apparently Saul's administrative weakness began to show itself in the looseness of his government. The sudden popularity of the youthful hero David who had turned the tide against the Philistines, aroused the jealousy of the monarch. This jealousy grew into a bitter hatred that assumed the form of a species of insanity. David was soon compelled to flee for his life, and to live as an outlaw. The power of the king rapidly waned, and the aggressions of the Philistines began to increase. Saul's desperation in the face of an army of Philistines and a refusal of God to hear him, either by dreams, by the Urim, or by the prophets, led him to seek "a woman that hath a familiar spirit" (1 Sam. 28 : 7). This weird story has some parallel ideas in the literature of those early times. One of the names of Babylonian priests was "medium of the spirits of the dead." In one of the Babylonian epics, the "Descent of the Goddess Ishtar," this goddess threatens to bring out the dead. In a Phœnician tomb inscription of Tebnet we find:

You shall not make an opening above me, nor stir me up, that would create confusion for the Ashtoreth: and if you do, however, make an opening above me and stir me up, then may you have no posterity among the living under the sun and have no place of rest among the Rephaim (=shades of the dead).

In the Babylonian Gilgamesh epic we find how Gilgamesh, in his fright in the presence of death, with the help of the god Nergal causes the spirit of his deceased friend Enkidu to swear, "When the giant hero Nergal hears this, may he make an opening in the earth, lead forth the spirit of the dead Enkidu as a wind rushes out." Belief in the appearance and effect of the spirits of the dead in Babylonia belonged to the state official religion, whereas in Israel it was merely incidental.

Finally, in spite of Saul's visit to the witch of Endor, the fateful battle took place on Mt. Gilboa, where Saul and his brave sons fell in the Philistine onslaught. These warriors from the southwest secured control of Canaan west of the Jordan, and forced the scattered remnants of Saul's army to flee to the East Jordanic country. Not to lose their organization, Abner, Saul's former general, made the incapable Ishbosheth king of the fragments of Saul's former kingdom.

182. David's Expanding Kingdom. David, who had finally taken refuge from the wrath and jealousy of Saul, in the friendly land of Philistia, now after Saul's death returned to Hebron. By the fine leadership of his warrior Joab, this embryonic movement toward independence soon pushed back the Philistines, and David became master and king of all Judah. On the basis of overtures from Abner, David's authority soon extended over all Israel. The fortress of Jebus was captured, and the king made this stronghold the capital of his kingdom. From Jerusalem as the center, his army swept about the whole horizon, subduing, and concluding treaties, and receiving tribute.

But some one may ask: "How was David's army able to raid territory at such distances as Damascus and the Euphrates? What were the political relations of the great world-powers whose armies had often crossed this land of Canaan in the past?" An examination of these questions reveals facts of double interest.

The successors of Ramses III of the Twentieth dynasty (1200-1090 B. C.), nine in number, all bearing the same name, had become mere tools in the hands of the great priestly guild of Thebes, and their reign was marked by domestic weakness and by official corruption. The next dynasty, the Twenty-first (1090-945 B. C.), was not only controlled by the priests, but actually consisted throughout of high priests of Amon at Thebes.

The military and administrative power of Egypt reached so low an ebb that this dynasty finally fell before the might of a strong Libyan leader who had formerly served as a mercenary in the Egyptian army. This condition of things in Egypt could interject no opposition to the conquests of David, but would rather encourage his adventurous spirit.

When we look to the former empires of Asia, we find similar political conditions. The Babylonian monuments are silent about the Westland, and the Assyrian records have next to nothing to say of affairs in the west between the reigns of Tiglath-pileser I (1120-1100 B. C.) and Ashurnatsirpal (884-860 B. C.). So that David had a free field touching the peoples of Babylonia-Assyria east of the Euphrates. Again, it is noticeable that the Hittites, whose power had often been the dread of Egypt and of all the minor tribes on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, are not mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as a

very formidable power after 1000 B. C. It is thought that they had been crowded back into the mountains by the victorious campaigns of the Aramæans, who had crossed and occupied territory on the west banks of the Euphrates river including North Syria. If then, the Hittites had been crowded out by the people of Mitanni or Paddan-aram, Syria, northern and middle, was Aramaic territory before the time of David. Its fortified centers, like Hamath and Damascus, presented a formidable challenge to any invader. Damascus, especially, had been a main commercial center from prehistoric times, standing as it did on the great international highway between the East and the West.

David's conquests embraced the peoples of Edom, Ammon, Moab, Philistia, and Amalek. His wars with these tribes were not long drawn out. Ammon, however, made a stubborn resistance. The most powerful opponents to Israel's advances were the Aramæan kings of the north and northeast. Hadadezer of Zobah was at the head of a federation of troops from Rehob, Tob, and Maacah. These received a disastrous defeat at the hands of Israel under the leadership of Joab. Hastily they summoned all their allies, even from the east banks of the Euphrates. This formidable Aramæan army was met by Israel, led by King David in person. The trained fighting army of Israel was victorious, not only over this great body of Aramæan allies, but over all Syria. The king of Hamath, likewise an enemy of Hadadezer, freely submitted to David and sent him gifts as symbols of his homage. The final reduction of Rabbah of Ammon concluded the conquests of David (2 Sam. 12 : 29).

**183. David's
Message to
Hanun.**

About the time David had finished his main conquests and had become fairly established as king of the whole realm, he heard of the death of Nahash, his friend, king of the Ammonites. In accordance with good Oriental custom and diplomacy he sent his servants to bear his sympathy to the bereft son, Hanun the new king. Hanun's princes were suspicious of the motives of the victorious Hebrew king, and they poisoned the mind of Hanun. Consequently Hanun rebuffed and disgraced the messengers of David and sent them away in their shame (2 Sam. 10 : 1-5).

It was a well-established custom between friendly peoples for rulers and kings to exchange greetings and presents on the occasion of accession to the throne or on other especial events. The messengers were not always treated in a friendly and courteous manner, as seen in a treaty between Murshilish, king of the Hittites on the one side, and Shunash-shura king of Kizu-atna on the other. "If the sun (that is, king of the Hittites) send his messenger to Shunash-shura, then Shunash-shura shall not do him any evil." If the courteous act of sending a messenger were neglected, the offended party did not hesitate to mention it. One of the bluntest and most direct thrusts we have seen is the following in a letter from the Hittite king Hattushilish to Ramses II, king of Egypt, as follows:

When I took hold of the dominion thou didst not send a messenger; and it is, nevertheless, the custom among kings, if one take hold of the dominion, that the kings should send to their associates in office fine presents, regal clothing, sweet-smelling oil for anointing. But thou hast not done such things.

184. David's Moral Collapse. The scope of David's empire, and the diversity in race, language, and religion of his subjects, demanded careful organization and wise administration. These he accomplished with notable success. Centralized authority, concentration of wealth, a court fashioned after the model of Oriental despots gave David tremendous power. Such supremacy led to luxury, and finally to a moral breakdown on the part of the king. In the wake of this collapse followed family corruption, fratricide and open plotting and rebellion on the part of Absalom, the son of the king. The timely foresight of David's counselors, and the defeat and death of the rebel Absalom, saved the day for the kingdom. At the close of the king's life the rightful claimant to the throne, Adonijah, was superseded by Solomon as the king's own choice.

185. Solomon's Accession and Marriages. Solomon's heritage was an empire thoroughly organized, at peace with its neighbors, and ready for development. To insure future peace and security he made domestic alliances with his subject races and tribes. He also stepped over his own boundary-lines and took as wives princesses of Egypt and of Phœnicia. In this strategic move for continued friendship and peace he was simply falling into line with the Oriental custom of the day. The Pharaoh whose daughter Solomon secured as wife was one of the kings of the Twenty-first dynasty (1090-945 B. C.) whose residence was in Tanis.

In the Amarna letters of 1400-1350 B. C., we find an exchange between Kadashman-Harbe king of Babylon and Amenhotep III king of Egypt. The king of Egypt in

his letter to the king of Babylon, quotes out of the letter of the king of Babylon as follows:

Behold you request my daughter in marriage for yourself, while my sister, whom my father gave you, is there with you, and no one in our days has seen her, (to ascertain) whether she is living or dead.

And the same king of Babylon wrote again to the same king of Egypt:

As for the maiden, my own daughter, whom you wrote that you wished to marry. She is grown up and mature. Send here and get her.

186. **Solomon's Buildings and Piety.** These multimarriage relations of Solomon not only secured the good-will of leaders among these different peoples, but opened the door of Israel for further political and commercial negotiations. The king of Egypt conquered, and gave to Solomon, as a dowry with his daughter, the strong fortress of Gezer down on the edge of Philistia (§74). With Phœnicia on the northern sea-coast, Solomon established commercial relations of a far-reaching character. The artisans of Tyre and Sidon became the chief workmen in the splendid architectural achievements of Israel, the most brilliant of which was the building of the temple. One feature of that structure should not be passed by without some mention. At the main entrance two pillars were set up, one on the right, the other on the left (1 Kings 7 : 21). The same location was chosen for the sphinx in Egyptian and the *lamassu* and *shedu* in Babylonian-Assyrian temples. In Akkadian religious texts godlike figures were often placed as guardians at the entrance of temples.

At every temple which thou enterest, noble Marduk, on the right and on the left of the door will I cause the gods Anu and Enlil to take their stand,

says Irra to Marduk.¹

That nothing evil may come near, I placed the gods Amel-dishpu and Latarak in the door . . . two pictures of watchmen, of Ea and Marduk, I placed in the door right and left,² etc.

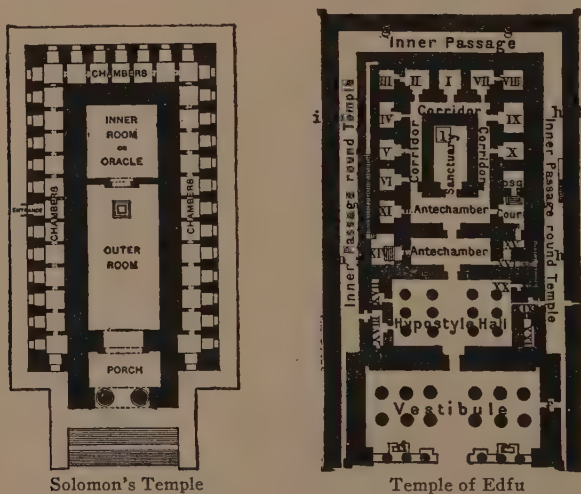


Fig. 155. The Temple of Solomon and that at Edfu

The ground plan of these two temples is in general the same. Each has its most holy place which was the exclusive abode of the deity or deities, the outer room or ante-chamber, where the priesthood only could enter; the porch or hypostyle hall in Egypt, where privileged classes and the royalty only could approach. About the central area the priests kept their vestments, and the paraphernalia for festal occasions. While Solomon's temple may have been mainly Assyrian, it was still closely related to Egypt (§186).

When Solomon dedicated the temple, he uttered a sublime prayer for the future of his people. Many such prayers are found in Babylonian-Assyrian literature that

¹ KAR, I, 168, R. II, 27ff.

² Zimmern, *Beiträge*, 168, 27ff.

breathe a similar spirit. In the so-called Canal Inscription, at the dedication of the temple of Shamash in Sippar, Nebuchadrezzar II prayed as follows:

O Shamash, great lord,
 when thou joyfully enterest into Ebabbara, thy glittering temple,
 look on the costly work of my hands!
 May thy lips grant me favor!
 By thy sure command
 may I be satisfied with offerings!
 Grant me a long life
 and a firmly established throne!
 May my reign be stretched out
 even to eternity with a righteous scepter
 and a good rule!
 With a staff of justice,
 for the welfare of the people,
 adorn my kingdom eternally!
 With strong weapons, and
 with the onslaught of battle
 protect my troops!

 At thy noble command
 which is unalterable,
 may my sharp weapons
 be drawn!
 May they overthrow the weapons of the enemies!

187. Solomon's
 Commerce.

On the sea, Solomon employed the skilled tars of Phœnicia. The remote and still undetermined land of Ophir yielded him once in three years a mint of gold and a menagerie of tropical life. More than this, Solomon established great marts of trade within his territory. Tadmor, later Palmyra, in the desert, was a kind of custom-house through which all the caravans from Mesopotamia passed

and paid their fees. From Egypt he imported chariots and horses and passed them on at a fixed price to the Hittites in Asia Minor. The revenue from all of these sources was something startling. It filled the coffers of the kingdom and made possible the finest luxuries of opulent Oriental monarchs. This far-stretching commerce scattered the fame and name of Israel to distant shores. The superior wisdom of Solomon followed the lines of trade, and aroused among foreign peoples a peculiar respect for, and curiosity to see, the man whose genius had wrought such a revolution on this insignificant strip of territory called Canaan. This reputation in foreign lands, these new international marital relations, laid new duties on the court.

188. Solomon Caters to Idolatry.

Solomon's matrimonial alliances doubtless had the virtue of maintaining at the beginning of his reign peaceful and harmonious relations with his subjects and neighbors. They led to increased commercial enterprise, and to a consequent material wealth. This wealth allowed the king to gratify the desires of the court. The presence of numerous foreign wives, princesses of marked influence, made special demands on Solomon. Their requests that they should be permitted to serve their fathers' gods, seem to have been readily granted. The king erected shrines for the foreign deities worshiped by his wives. He established at his capital a practical polytheism. Even the king himself could not resist such an impact. The elaborate shrines of the numerous deities, and their entrancing rituals of worship submerged even the old monarch.

His grip on his administration slackened, and border rebels arose. The specter of rebellion appeared even within his own capital. He struck at the ghost, but it evaded his blow and took refuge with Shishak, a new king of Egypt—a usurper of unusual strength. Elements of dissolution were at work throughout Solomon's entire realm. Rezon of Zobah had secured control of Damascus, and Hadad of Edom had returned from Egypt, and established himself among his own people. In a word, Solomon's power, at first enhanced by foreign alliances, gradually slipped away before the blandishments and seductions of the elements introduced by these relations. The life of the united monarchy was threatened, its power became its weakness, and its days were numbered.

NOTE ON FIG. 72, tail-piece below: This Oriental Venus, shown standing on a lion, under one of her names, was a goddess of the Phœnicians, the Ishtar of the Akkadians and Assyrians, the Ashtoreth of Canaan and Sidon, the Aphrodite of the Greeks (cf. Jer. 44 : 17; 1 Kings 11 : 5; 2 Kings 23 : 15). Her cult was common among all the religions of Western Asia.





CHAPTER XVI

LIGHT ON THE BEGINNINGS OF THE DUAL KINGDOM

189. King-
dom
Ruptured. The death of Solomon closed the crowning period of Israel's dominion. When Rehoboam assembled all Israel at Shechem his final reply to the reasonable demands of Israel ruptured the once unified dominion. The would-be

NOTE ON FIG. 143, head-piece above: For 270 years no Egyptian ruler had invaded southwestern Asia. Shishak's ambition and the split-up Hebrew kingdom lured him into Palestine with a victorious campaign in 926 B. C. (§191). Above we see the god Amon handing over to him a few of the ten lines of captive-cities taken on that campaign.

successor of his father Solomon was compelled to retreat for safety to the bounds of Judah from the popular recoil against autocracy. Jeroboam, who had fled from the suspicious wrath of Solomon, and taken refuge in the court of Shishak, the new Libyan usurper of the throne of Egypt, was recalled and at once hailed as king of the seceding tribes. This disruption of the kingdom gave Solomon's son the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and the remainder fell to the lot of the returning Jeroboam. From this time forth, for more than two centuries these rival kingdoms of Israel, northern and southern, faced each other, generally in friendly, but sometimes in hostile relations. They fortified their realms against each other, and attempted to establish such political and religious policies as would guarantee patriotic fidelity on the part of their citizens and the permanency of their governments.

Now that the new states or kingdoms of Israel-Judah were determined upon, we should look about and see how the adjoining territory was occupied. At the collapse of the former empire of Solomon, there were practically three Aramaic states in the north composed of a mixture of Hittite and Aramaic peoples, (1) Patin, which occupied the districts north and south of the Orontes area, (2) Hamath, or Hamath-Zobah, and (3) Damascus. Of all these the most formidable and menacing for the safety of Israel-Judah was Damascus. This old oasis-city, protected by mountains and fed by never-failing streams, has been during all historical times the hub of Syria. From here caravans wandered eastward toward Babylon, southward toward Arabia, northward toward Mesopotamia, and

190. Damas-
cus.

westward over the passes of the Lebanons to Tyre, Sidon, and the Phœnician coast cities.

The origin of Damascus is unknown. It reaches back into the dim past. The earliest peoples found there were of a mixed Hittite-Aramaic stock. The religion of these peoples included as one of their deities Hadad, the west-Semitic god Rimmon (2 Kings 5 : 18), the Babylonian god Ramman-Adad, the Hittite Teshub. Thutmose III in his victory list designates this city as *Timasku*; the Old Testament calls it *Dammeshek*; the Amarna letters, *Timashgi*; the Assyrian kings' inscriptions *Dimashki*, and the present-day Arabs as *Dimisk*. Apparently, the Amurru prince Aziru plundered the city in the Amarna times. In David's day it was his vassal, and Solomon ruled over it until it was seized by Rezon, who made it his own personal realm. From this time down to its fall in 732 B. C., Damascus was closely yoked up in history with the fate of Israel-Judah, and will often appear on the stage of national action.

191. **Shishak** The rupture of the kingdom of Israel at
 Overruns Shechem made Canaan a tempting morsel
 Canaan. to any more powerful ruler—even though
 one of the divisions was headed by the man
who took refuge in his court. This Shishak (Sheshonk I) had dethroned the king whose daughter Solomon had taken to wife. His ambition stretched into Asia, which had been in early centuries the foraging-ground of some of Egypt's greatest monarchs. We do not know whether Jeroboam had any part in suggesting to Shishak an aggressive campaign in this direction, though his acquaintance made in his brief Egyptian sojourn could not have



Fig. 39. Damascus, a View from Without

Damascus is probably the oldest living city on earth. Its location is ideal for an oasis. Two perpetual, snow-fed rivers are its life. It is still the largest city of Syria, with about 300,000 inhabitants. It is doubtless built on successive strata of its predecessors reaching far back into millennia of time.

been entirely forgotten. Whatever his motive may have been, Shishak, in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam (1 Kings 14 : 25-28), invaded Palestine. He overran and captured the entire territory of Judah, and plundered Jerusalem. He carried off to Egypt the immense treasures of Solomon's accumulation, including the golden shields, and the utensils of the temple, and compelled the proud Rehoboam to acknowledge his supremacy. He also ravaged considerable territory of the northern kingdom, and captured some of its prominent cities.

On the southern pylon of the court of the great temple of Amon at Karnak, Shishak prepared a sculpture representing this campaign. He enumerates 156 places, towns and fortresses, 120 of which can be made out, that he captured, the northernmost being Megiddo.¹ On this pylon, the giant figure of Amon is represented as holding in his left hand the ends of ropes which bind the long rows of captives neck to neck. Their hands are tied behind them, and the victor's right hand holds over other captives a club with which he threatens them. The names of the conquered cities are inscribed on ovals or shields that cover the lower part of the body of each prisoner. Some of the most familiar names in this list are Abel, Adullam, Aijalon, Beth-anath, Beth-horon, Gaza, Gibeon, Shunem, Taanach, and Judah-Melech, which is regarded by some as the name of the sacred city of Judah, Jerusalem (Fig. 143). Prof. Sayce sees in the profiles of the conquered those of Amorites, not of Jews. They are the fair-skinned, light-haired, blue-eyed, long-headed Amorites who are seen on the earlier monuments of Egypt.

¹ Breasted, *Records*, Vol. IV, 709-724.

If this is so it seems to point to a general prevalence of Amorite blood among the Jews at that time.

Whether the resistance that Shishak met was so stubborn as to discourage further advances into Asia is unknown. Neither is there any evidence that he exercised continued authority over the people and territory captured. Whatever may have been the immediate results to Judah-Israel of this campaign and plunder, it is evident that within the next fifteen years the northern and southern kingdoms met in mortal combat without interference from any outside power.

192. Omri's Foreign Reputation. Omri (1 Kings 16 : 16) was one of the notable kings of the northern kingdom, though the Old Testament would not lead us to think so. His name appears in the Assyrian historical inscriptions as *Bit Hu-um-ri-a* ("house of Omri"), and also in the form of "son of Omri"; and the country as "land of Omri." Even long years after the passing of the dynasty of Omri, the country was called in Assyrian records, "land of Omri," thereby testifying to the significance of this ruler to the history of Israel. Omri's far-sighted policy for his realm had led him to purchase the hill upon which he built his capital, Samaria, henceforth the stronghold of the northern kingdom (1 Kings 16 : 24). Among the local small peoples Omri's importance is seen in the mention of his name on the Moabite stone (§199). In the next place, Omri's commercial treaties included Tyre and Sidon, the Phœnician commercial centers of the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea. This relationship was finally cemented in the marriage of his son Ahab to Jezebel the



Fig. 108. Omri's and Ahab's Citadel

The excavations of Harvard University at Samaria have uncovered what the best evidence shows was the royal citadel of these kings. The oldest walls date from Omri (8192), the enlargements from Ahab, Jehu, and Jeroboam II. Attached to the palace are the remains of the temple of Baal (1 Kings 16 : 32).

princess, daughter of Ithobaal king of the Sidonians. This latter combination had vital religious and political significance for both kingdoms over a series of years, and for the northern kingdom over more than one dynasty of rulers.

193. **Ashurnatsirpal on the Horizon.** Since Israel-Judah had occupied the land of Canaan, no Assyrian ruler had invaded the Westland so completely as to include their territory. The first king from the east to sweep through to the Mediterranean Sea was Ashurnatsirpal II (884-860 B. C.) (Fig. 12). His own report of this western campaign includes the following:

In the great sea of the land of the Amorites I washed my weapons. I made my offerings to the gods. The tribute of the kings on the sea-coast, of the inhabitants of Tyre, of the inhabitants of Sidon, of the inhabitants of Gebal (Byblos), . . of the inhabitants of Amurru, of the city of Arvad, which lies in the midst of the sea; silver, gold, lead, copper, copper vessels, garments of bright colors, cloth . . . (woods of many kinds) . . the teeth of a sperm-whale, a creature of the sea, I received; they embraced my feet. Mount Amanus I climbed, and cut timbers of cedar, cypress, juniper, and pine. Sacrifices I offered to my gods. I set up a stela on which my warlike deeds were recorded.

No mention is made of the Israelites, but this monarch collected tribute from the principal commercial and maritime cities of the Mediterranean, including Tyre and Arvad located on islands off shore, two of the best-protected cities of the Phœnicians with whom these peoples were on friendly terms if not under treaty obligations. This campaign conducted on the aggressive lines laid down by the early Babylonian generals, Sargon I, and Hammurabi of the First dynasty of Babylon, paved the

way for a successor to turn his attention toward the south. Ashurnatsirpal did improve his opportunity to carry home some of the choice timber from the Lebanons, as had other rulers of Egypt and Babylonia for more than 1,500 years.

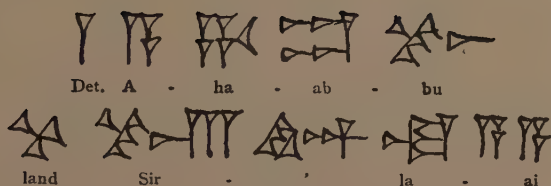
NOTE ON FIG. 16, tail-piece below: An Assyrian Archer in a Coat of Mail. A sleeveless jerkin of leather covered with small plates of bronze or iron, fastened on in rows, and reaching from head-piece to hips, was a most effective protection against weapons of that day. Goliath was probably so armed (1 Sam. 17 : 5). An arrow striking between the plates might be fatal (1 Kings 22 : 34).





Fig. 13. Ashurnatsirpal

This was the first great king of Assyria in the "new empire" (§193). He appears here in his sacrificial robes. On a necklace he wears a crescent, a star, a trident, and a cross. Within and above his girdle are the hilts of three daggers. His left hand holds a scepter, and his right is uplifted with forefinger extended as if in an act of worship. Before his face are the symbols of the five planets. Layard found this figure in the ruins of his palace at Nimrud (Calah).



CHAPTER XVII

ASSYRIA'S INCURSIONS INTO ISRAEL

194. Treaty between Syria and Israel.

The events of the next few years were momentous for Israel. Benhadad, king of Damascus, whom Ashurnatsirpal did not molest in his western campaign, increased in political and military power, until he invaded and defeated Ahab, son of Omri, king of Israel. In the meantime, changes had taken place over in Assyria. Ashurnatsirpal had died and his son Shalmaneser III (860-825 B. C.) had come to the throne. His administrative powers were early tested in maintaining the unity of his father's realm. His military campaigns reached the number of twenty-six, several of which are of especial interest to students of the Old Testament. The first intimation of his dangerous approach to Israel appears in 1 Kings 20 : 34. Here we learn that Ahab had defeated Benhadad with his thirty-two royal allies in battle before Samaria; or, rather, Syria had fled at the supposed sound

NOTE ON FIG. 74, head-piece above: "Ahab of Israel" in Cuneiform Script. In the great battle of Karkar (854 B. C.), where the armies of Assyria were under Shalmaneser III, we find "Ahab of Israel" as one of the twelve allies who endeavored to hold back the Assyrian flood from east of the Euphrates.

of Israel's approaching allies (1 Kings 20 : 1-21). A second battle was fought in the plain near Aphek, where the God of the Hebrews, being a God of the hills, as the Syrians supposed, would be powerless to help. The Syrian king Benhadad and his army, however, met a disastrous defeat. Benhadad, at the counsel of his officers, came out of his hiding-place and presented himself, with a rope about his neck in an appeal for mercy, to Ahab of Israel (vs. 26-34). So far as can be judged from the Kings record, Benhadad was not subjected to the indignities which he, as a captive, should have received. More than that, Ahab gave him large quarter, and after negotiations concluded a treaty and a covenant. Some of the stipulations of this document were that Benhadad should restore cities which his father had wrested from Ahab's father, Omri, and that Israel should now have streets in Damascus, as Syria formerly had in Samaria—probably as depots or commercial saleshouses. There must have been in this treaty, either expressed or implied, another important provision. Why did Ahab show such friendly leniency toward Syria? Why did he not demand the surrender of Damascus, or a heavy indemnity or some other reparation commensurate with the weight of his victory?

Upon an examination of the political horizon, we see that Ahab was not yet ready to commit national suicide, and that he showed in this treaty some of the best traits of a broad statesmanship. If this event is properly located as to time, Shalmaneser III of Assyria, with his almost invincible troops, was already sweeping westward across the country toward the Euphrates; his army was bent on a western campaign; and the political skies were darken-



Fig. 12. Ashurnatsirpal Crossing the Euphrates

The first Assyrian king to cross the Euphrates after the Hebrews became a kingdom. About 878 B. C. he loaded his chariot and chief officers into a boat, but horses and men swam or waded across into the Westland (§193), where he spread terror by this his first appearance in Syria.

ing with ominous clouds of an invasion. Syria, centered at Damascus, was the only effective barrier between Ahab and this portent of destruction. To have cut down Benhadad and leveled this breastwork would have been the height of folly, and the shortest road to national disaster. This treaty, which preserved intact the king and kingdom of Damascus, was Ahab's best defense for his own people and realm.

195. Shalmaneser at Karkar. A direct evidence of the truth of what has just been said is found on the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser III:¹

In the eponym-year of Dan-Ashur (854 B. C.) in the month Airu (about May) fourteenth day I set out from Nineveh, crossed the river Tigris, approached the cities of Giammu, on the river Balikh. The fear of my dominion, the terror of my powerful weapons horrified them, and they slew with their own arms Giammu, their lord. I entered Kitlala and Til-sha-mar-akhi. I took my gods into his palaces, and in his palaces I made a feast. I opened his storehouse, beheld his treasure, his substance and goods I plundered, I carried away to my own city Ashur. From Kitlala I set out, and approached Kar-Shulmanu-asharid (=Fort Shalmaneser). In boats [floated on] sheep-skins I crossed for the second time the Euphrates river at flood. The tribute of the kings on that side of the Euphrates, of Sangar of Carchemish, of Kundashpi of Kummukh, of Arame house of Gusi, Lalli the Melidæan, of Khayani house of Gabari, of Kalparuda of Patin, of Kalparuda of Gurgum; silver, gold, lead, copper, a copper kettle, I received at Ashur-utir-atsbat on the far side of the Euphrates, on the river Sagur, which the Hittites call Pitru (Pethor, Num. 22 : 5). I set out from the river Euphrates, (and) approached Khalman (Aleppo). They feared my battle, they embraced my feet. I received silver and gold as their tribute; I offered sacrifices before the god Adad of Khalman.

I marched forth from Aleppo. I approached the cities of Irkhuleni of the land of Hamath. I captured Adini, Mashga, and his royal city of Arghana. His booty, his possessions, the goods of his

¹ *III Rawl.*, 8, 78-102.

palaces I brought out, and set fire to his palaces. From Arghana I set out and arrived at Karkar. Karkar, his royal city, I plundered, I destroyed, I burnt with fire. 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry, 20,000 soldiers of Hadad-idri (Bir-idri) of Damascus; 700 chariots, 700 cavalry, 10,000 soldiers of Irkhuleni of Hamath; 2,000 chariots, and 10,000 soldiers of Ahab of Israel (*Sir'-la-ai*); 500 soldiers of the land of Kue; 1,000 soldiers of the land of Mutsri; 10 chariots and 10,000 soldiers of the land of Irkanata; 200 soldiers of Matanbaal of Arvad; 200 soldiers of the land of Usanata; 30 chariots, 10,000 soldiers of Adonibaal of the land of Shiana; 1,000 camels of Gindibu of the lands of Arabia . . . 1,000 soldiers of Ba'asha son of Rukhubi (Rehob) of the land of Ammon—those twelve (eleven) kings he took to himself as allies; and they marched forth to make war and battle upon me. With the exalted power which Ashur the lord had granted me, with the powerful arms which Nergal, who walks before me, bestowed, I fought with them; from Karkar to Gilzau I routed them; 14,000 of their fighting men I brought down with weapons. Like Adad (the weather god) I poured upon them a flood (of troops); I scattered their corpses, covered the surface of the plain with their numerous troops, with weapons I made their blood flow. . . I dammed the Orontes river as with a dam (?). In that battle I took from them their chariots, their cavalry, and their draught-horses.

**196. Shalmaneser's
Subsequent
Campaigns.**

This account of the second campaign of Shalmaneser into the Westland depicts the attempt of the allied forces to hold back the Assyrian flood of invasion. The number of slain in this battle is told in a briefer record on the Obelisk as 20,500 men, while another account gives the number as 25,000. The real issue of the battle is not told. It seems that it must have been little if any more than a draw, as no immediate advantage, toward the south, at least, was taken by Shalmaneser. In another account of this same battle, he concludes by saying: "They fled to save their lives. I embarked on a ship and went to sea." The national ingredients of the

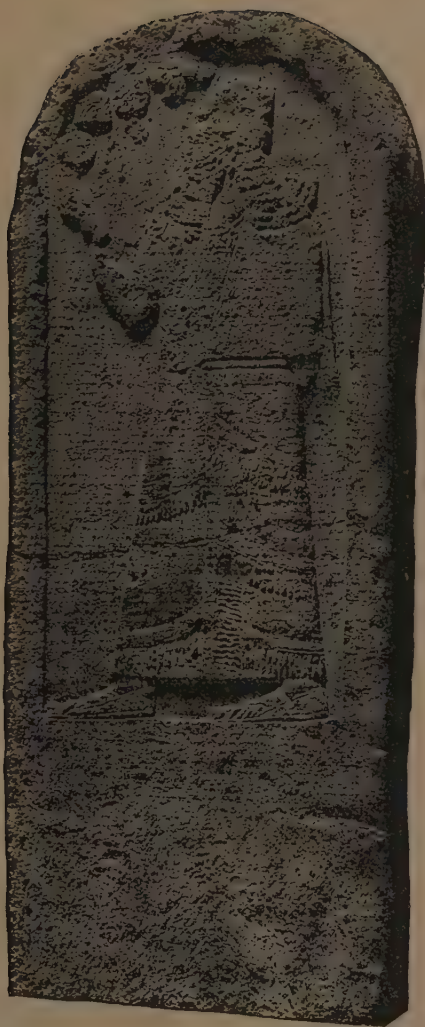


Fig. 141. Portrait of Shalmaneser III

Shalmaneser III was the first Assyrian monarch to come into direct contact with the Hebrews (§195). Ahab at the battle of Karkar in 854 B. C., and Jehu's submission (Fig. 63) are an omen of what awaits the Israel of the future. This imperfect portrait from Nimrud is cut across by lines of an inscription, and the king faces several symbols of the deities of Assyria.

allied forces are distinctly enlightening. It is evident that the advance of Assyria into this territory aroused great consternation among surrounding peoples, who combined their military strength and succeeded in putting a temporary check, at least, on the vaulting ambition of this new Assyrian monarch. In allied forces we find the largest units of troops under the king of Hamath, the king of Damascus, and under Ahab of Israel. The first name in the list is that of the king of Damascus, etymologically the same as Benhadad, the very peoples with whom Ahab made his treaty already noted (1 Kings 20 : 34). He made common cause with all the provinces on the east coast of the Mediterranean, to repel a common enemy and invader. In this army we find also the Mutsri from Cappadocia, several detachments from the Phœnician coast, Ammonites from the edge of the Syrian desert, and Arabs from the desert itself. Shalmaneser's loss is not given, but his advantage was so small that he did not return to this territory for five years.

Although the kingdoms of Israel and Syria were usually at swords' points, evidence goes to show that the advance of Shalmaneser had forced an alliance between these kingdoms. In 1 Kings 22 we find that after a peace of three years between these powers, war again broke out, and Syria again ravaged the East-Jordanic territory. The battle of Karkar had occurred in 854 B. C. The very next year probably found Ahab, with Jehoshaphat of Judah, fighting the Syrians for the possession of Ramoth-gilead, where Israel's king Ahab was mortally wounded. In the meanwhile Shalmaneser was not resting on his arms. He says:

In the tenth year of my reign (850 B. C.) I crossed the river Euphrates for the eighth time. The cities of Sangar of Carchemish, I destroyed, I devastated, I burnt with fire. From the cities of Carchemish I set out and approached the cities of Arame.

Again he says:

In the eleventh year of my reign (849 B. C.) I set out from Nineveh. I crossed the river Euphrates at flood for the ninth time, . . . At that time Hadad-idri (Bir-idri) of Damascus, Irkhuleni of Hamath, with twelve kings of the sea-coast, trusted in each other and marched against me to make war and battle. I fought with them and defeated them. 10,000 of their soldiers I slew with arms; their chariots, their cavalry, war equipment I took from them. In the fourteenth year (846 B. C.) of my reign I called out the (soldiers of the) broad land without number. I crossed the Euphrates at flood with 120,000 troops. At that time Hadad-idri of Damascus, Irkhuleni of Hamath, with twelve kings of the sea-coast, upper and lower, called out their troops without number, and marched against me. I fought with them, I accomplished their defeat. Their chariots, their cavalry, their war equipment I took from them; to save their lives they fled.

Whether the allied coalition against which Shalmaneser fought in 854 B. C. remained in force until 846 B. C. when this last campaign was concluded, or whether the Assyrian monarch took it for granted, or made an empty boast we cannot say. At least, he did not enumerate the troops as he had done in 854 B. C., nor does he in any later record mention Israel as part of the opposing force.

Hazael of Damascus, who is reported in the
197. **Shalmaneser** Old Testament (2 Kings 8) to have secured
 Assaults the throne of Syria by smothering his mas-
 Damascus. ter, Benhadad, plays a large rôle in some of
 Shalmaneser's campaigns. In 842 B. C. the
Assyrian monarch advanced directly against this Hazael



Fig. 140. Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III

This was the first notable "find" made by Layard at Nimrud (Calah) just below Nineveh (§21). It was set up by Shalmaneser III before 825 B. C. in his palace at Nimrud, and summarizes about thirty-one years of military campaigns. The five registers picture the tribute-bringing caravans or trains of five nationalities—each extending around the four sides of the shaft. The second from the top is the Hebrews' train.

of Damascus. His own record on a pavement slab from Calah tells the story: ²

In the eighteenth year of my reign (842 B. C.) I crossed the river Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus (1 Kings 19 : 15, 17; 2 Kings 8) trusted in the large number of his troops, marshaled his forces in full strength. He made Senir (Deut. 3 : 9, Hermon), a peak of the mountain opposite Lebanon, his stronghold. I fought with him and defeated him. 6,000 of his soldiers I cut down with arms; 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his cavalry, with his camp, I took from him. To save his life he fled; I pursued him; in Damascus, his royal city, I shut him up. His parks I cut down. As far as the mountains of Hauran I marched. Towns without number I laid waste, I devastated, burnt with fire. Their innumerable spoil I carried away. To the mountains of Bali-rasi close to the sea (the headland of Dog river) I marched. My royal portrait I set up in that place. At that time I received the tribute of the Tyrians, the Sidonians, of Jehu son of Omri.

In this sixteenth campaign we find that Shalmaneser routed the army of Hazael but did not capture Damascus. He overran the Hauran, and all the territory back to the Mediterranean Sea. Among his tributary princes or kings we find last in the list the name "Jehu son of Omri." The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser, which represents both in word and in pictures several peoples who paid him tribute, presents us a line of tribute-bearing personages loaded down with goods, while over them we find this inscription:

Tribute of Jehu, son of Omri, silver, gold, bowls (?) of gold, chalices of gold, cups of gold, pitchers of gold, lead, a royal scepter (?), staves I received from him.

There is no Biblical or known Assyrian record of any defeat of Jehu by Shalmaneser, nor is there any evidence

² *III Rawl.*, 5, No. 6.

that he was merely paying the tribute of his predecessors on the throne. The dangerous approach of Shalmaneser, and the invincible character of his army forewarned Jehu that his surest method of deliverance would be to dispatch his envoys, even if he himself did not go, and pay the price of submission. "Son of Omri" here has no more significance than to designate Jehu as Omri's successor on the throne of Israel.

Once more Shalmaneser's record says :

In the twenty-first year of my reign (839 B. C.) I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time. I marched against the cities of Hazael of Damascus. Four of his cities I captured. I received the tribute of the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Byblians (Gebalites).

Another bit of a record sums up his account as follows :

At that time Hadad-idri of the land of Damascus, with twelve princes, his helpers—their defeat I accomplished. 29,000 mighty warriors I brought down like a hurricane (?). The rest of his troops I threw into the Orontes (river). They fled to save their lives. Hadad-idri forsook his land. Hazael, son of a nobody, seized the throne. He summoned his numerous troops, and came to make war and battle with me. I fought with him, I accomplished his defeat. The wall of his camp I took from him. He fled to save his life. I pursued him to Damascus his capital city.

And, of course, Shalmaneser did not capture either Damascus or its king, otherwise there would have been a fulsome record of the whole matter. Thus far no statement has appeared in his inscriptions that he had invaded any territory of Israel. While Jehu as a matter of precaution may have paid him tribute, he probably never met the Assyrian army in battle, either alone or with allies. Israel, at least, had begun to realize what Assyrian sway

had meant to the Syrians and the numerous small peoples mentioned on the Black Obelisk.

198. Securing the Moabite Stone.

One of the best-known and most important monuments contemporaneous with the Old Testament is the so-called Moabite Stone. This remarkable specimen of antiquity was found at Dibon (modern Diban), just north of the river Arnon (Isaiah 15 : 2) by a German missionary, the Rev. F. A. Klein, in August, 1868. Its importance lies in the fact that it is one of the most ancient known documents closely akin to Hebrew, and that it supplements 2 Kings 3 : 4, 5. It was a stone of bluish-black basalt, two feet wide, nearly four feet high, and fourteen and one-half inches thick, and rounded both at the top and the bottom. Across it on one side could be seen an inscription of thirty-four lines in Phœnician letters. Without perceiving the great value of this inscription, Mr. Klein copied a few words, and attempted to buy the relic for the museum of Berlin. After about a year's negotiations, terms were agreed on, and the stone was to be delivered to the German authorities for about \$400. The French residents at Jerusalem, including M. Clermont-Ganneau, had learned of its existence and sent an Arab to take a squeeze (=paper impression) of the stone, and offered the natives for it at the same time more than \$1,800. Naturally, the owners suspected that it contained fabulous powers, and the governor of Nablus demanded it for himself. Fear of losing such a prize impelled the Arabs to build a fire under it, and when it became hot to pour cold water over it. This process cracked it into fragments, which the natives distributed among them-

selves as amulets and charms. This looked like a fitting result of the disgraceful contentions of the national representatives at Jerusalem, and an irreparable loss to the science of archeology. But, fortunately, some time afterwards, M. Clermont-Ganneau succeeded in recovering most of the broken pieces. By means of the squeeze, taken before the stone's destruction, he pieced the fragments and filled in the gaps. The restored stone may now be seen in the Louvre in Paris.

**199. Con-
tents of the
Moabite
Stone.**

This inscribed stone written in Phœnician script is a supplement to the records of the reigns of Omri, Ahab, Jehoram, and Jehoshaphat. Omri had subdued Moab, and had collected from her a yearly tribute.

Ahab had also enjoyed the same annual revenue, amounting, under Mesha's reign, to the wool of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams (2 Kings 3 : 4-27). At the close of Ahab's reign, Mesha refused longer to pay this tribute. The allied kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom marched with their armies against him. The Moabites fled into the strong fortress Kir-hareseth, where Mesha offered up his own son on the wall as a burnt offering to Chemosh, his god. This stone was set up by king Mesha, to Chemosh, about 850 B. C., to commemorate his deliverance from the yoke of Israel.

Its translation runs as follows, the alignment corresponding in general to the original :

I am Mesha, son of Chemosh[- - -], king of Moab,
the Dibonite.

My father ruled over Moab thirty years, and I ruled
after my father.



TRIBUTE OF JEHU, SON OF OMRI

SILVER



GOLD

BOWLS OF GOLD

CHALICES OF GOLD

Fig. 63. Hebrews Paying Tribute to Shalmaneser III

Shalmaneser III, on the left of the sun-disk, upper register, attended by two aids, receives the submission of the Hebrew king, Jehu, or his envoy, who does obeisance before him. Four Hebrew officials follow, and then come thirteen Hebrew bearers of gifts and tribute as enumerated on the second register running all around the Black Obelisk. Shalmaneser's comparative success in the Westland was a foreboding of the fate of all Syria and Canaan in succeeding centuries.



CUPS OF GOLD

PITCHERS OF GOLD

LEAD



A ROYAL SCEPTER

STAVES

I RECEIVED FROM HIM

Fig. 63. Hebrews Paying Tribute to Shalmaneser III

The five Hebrews in the upper register seem to be carrying as tribute buckets, staves, and a cup or vase. In the lower register the first bearers carry well-filled containers on their shoulders, the next two carry handled cups and something on their shoulders, perhaps garments. The last seems to bear a large tray of valuables on his head. These figures are the earliest portraits of Hebrews produced by Assyrian artists,

And I made this high place for Chemosh at Korkhah,
[for de]liverance, because he saved me from all
invaders (?) and because he let me see (my desire)
upon all mine enemies.

5. Omri king of Israel oppressed Moab many days, because
Chemosh was angry with his land.

And his son succeeded him, and he also said, "I will oppress
Moab."

In my days spake he [thus;], but I saw my desire upon him
and upon his house, and Israel[']s oppression] utterly per-
ished forever.

Omri had annexed all the land of Mehedeba, and [Israel]
dwelt therein during his days, and half the days of his
son, forty years;
but Chemosh [resto]red it in my days. And I built Baal-
meon, and constructed in it a pool (?);

10. and I built Kirjathen. And the Gadites had dwelt in the
land of Ataroth from ancient times; and the king of Israel
had built for himself Ataroth.

But I fought against the city and took it.

And I slew all the inhabitants [of] the city—a (pleasing)
spectacle for Chemosh and for Moab.

And I carried off thence the altar-hearth [or shrine] of Duda(?)
and I dragged it before Chemosh in Kerieth.

And I caused to dwell therein the men of Sharon (!) and
the men of Meheroeth (!).

15. And Chemosh said to me, "Go take Nebo against Israel."

And I went by night and fought against it from early
dawn until high noon.

And I took it and slew all of it, 7,000 men, strangers and women,
and . . . and female slaves; for to Ashtor-Chemosh I had
devoted it.

And I took thence the altar-hearths (or shrines) of Jehovah
and dragged them before Chemosh.

And the king of Israel had built Jahaz, and he had dwelt in it
while he waged war against me; but Chemosh drove him
out before me; and

20. I took of Moab 200 men, all its chiefs; and I led them against
Jahaz, and took it to add it unto Dibon.

- I built Korkhah the wall of the forests (or Jearin), and the wall of the fortress (or ophel).
 And I built its gates, and I built its towers.
 And I built the king's palace, and made the two reser[voirs (?) for water in the middle of the city.
 And there was no cistern in the middle of the city of Korkhah; and I said to all the people, —
25. "Make for you, each a cistern in his house." And I dug the channels for Korkhah with the prisoners [of] Israel.
 I built Aroer, and I made the road by the Arnon.
 I built Beth-bamoth, for it had been torn down. I built Bezer, for ruins [it had become. And the elde]rs of Dibon were fifty, for all Dibon was loyal.
 And I reigned over a hundred [elders] in the towns which I added to the land.
30. And I built . . . and Beth-diblathen, and Beth-baal-meon; there I placed . . . sheep-raisers (?)
 . . . sheep of the land. And as for
 Horonen there dwelt therein. . .
 . . And Chemosh said to me: "Go down, fight against Horonen." And I went down. . .
 . . . Chemosh [resto]red it in my days. And . . .
34. . . . and I . . .

200. Estimate of Moabite Stone.

This old document reads almost like a new chapter of 2 Kings. Its author was the Mesha of 2 Kings 3 : 4. According to that note he was a sheep-breeder, Moab being an excellent grazing country. The significance of this inscription can be indicated but briefly. It touches history, religion, and topography. Its contribution to the historical situation in Israel is of first importance. We learn that Omri king of Israel ruled over and oppressed Moab (line 5); and that Israel occupied the captured cities; and that this occupation continued until the middle of the reign of Ahab (line 9); that the expulsion of Israel

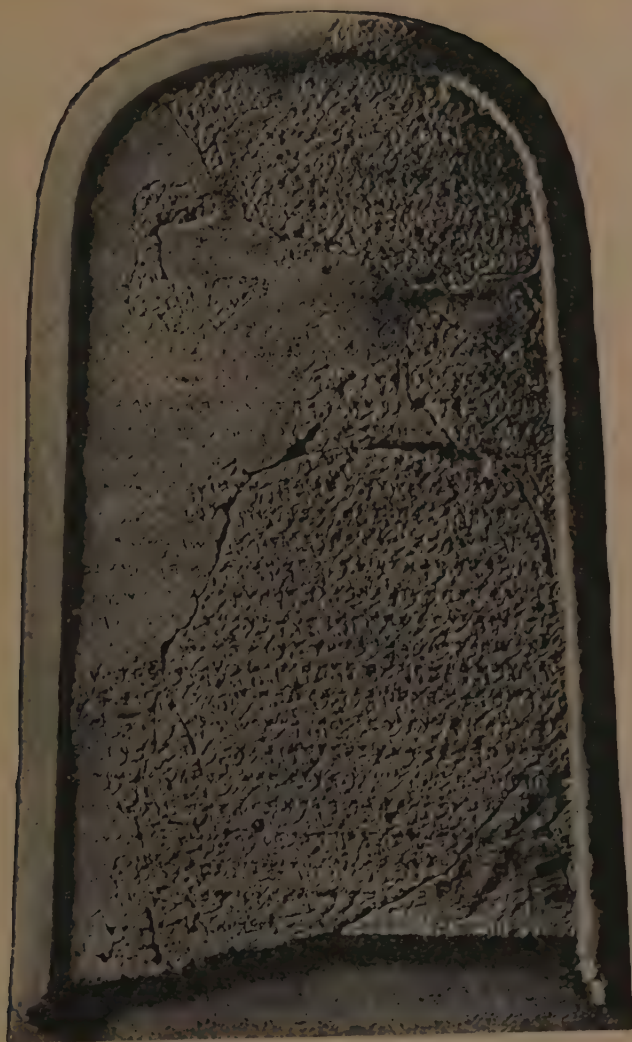


Fig. 97. The Moabite Stone of King Mesha

This is a unique monument. The rougher and darker parts are the original pieces, recovered from the Arabs among whom they were distributed. The light smooth parts were restored from the squeeze taken before the stone was broken up. Read the full description of it and its contents in §§198-200.

was accomplished by Mesha only after a series of battles; that the cruelty visited on the captured cities resembled the methods employed by Joshua in the conquest of Canaan (lines 12 and 17); that the cities and fortresses retaken were strengthened for future defenses; that the territory recaptured was repopulated; and that the methods of warfare and marks of civilization were similar to those found in Israel. We also ascertain the fact that national defeat, as in Israel, was attributed to the anger of their god. More important yet is the mention of the name of Jehovah (Yahweh), to whom Israel is said to have erected shrines (!)—probably altars, or a sanctuary, in Nebo.

This document mentions several places named in the Bible, as Arnon (Deut. 2 : 24), Aroer (Josh. 13 : 16), Ataroth (Num. 32 : 34), Baal-meon or Beth-baal-meon (Josh. 13 : 17), Beth-bamoth (Josh. 13 : 17), Beth-diblathaim (en) (Jer. 48 : 22), Bezer (Josh. 20 : 8), Dibon (Isa. 15 : 2), Horonaim (en) (Isa. 15 : 5), Jahaz (Isa. 15 : 4), Kerieth (Jer. 48 : 24), Kirathaim (en) (Jer. 48 : 23), Me[he]deba (Isa. 15 : 2), and Nebo (Isa. 15 : 2).

This wonderful monument, erected soon after the death of Ahab, is the finest old inscription akin to Hebrew yet found. It has not been copied by scribes through a series of centuries, as has the Hebrew of the books of the Old Testament. But we have today the original that was prepared by its artisan in the middle of the 9th century B. C. It tells us also that the Moabites employed nearly the same language and the same idioms that we find in the Old Testament. We are also aware of the fact that Moab

in the ninth century B. C. was not a barbarous, but a comparatively civilized people.

201. Enmity between Syria and Israel. The almost perpetual enmity existent between Israel and Syria may have led Jehu to hope to form some sort of an alliance with Shalmaneser whereby he could gain an advantage over Hazael. In the last campaign against Hazael, in 839 B. C., already mentioned, we found the Tyrians and Sidonians again paying tribute, though no mention is made of Jehu. Whatever may have induced Jehu to court the favor of Shalmaneser in 842 B. C., it is practically certain that that act did not protect him from the incursions of Syria. For in 2 Kings 10 : 32, 33, we read :

In those days Jehovah began to cut off from Israel: and Hazael smote them in all the borders of Israel; from the Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the valley of Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan.

The withdrawal of Shalmaneser from the Westland gave Hazael large opportunity to develop his ambitious designs. His army, after subjugating the whole of the East-Jordanic territory, turned westward. Israel's complete overthrow seemed near at hand. Hazael crossed the land of Judah, stormed and captured Gath, and even dictated terms to Jerusalem, the capital of Judah. But the strength of Jerusalem's fortifications and the lack of greater forces made Syria temporarily withdraw. Thus the hostility between Jehu and Hazael resulted in the apparent defeat of the former, and in the growth and development of Syria beyond any other period of her history.

Subsequent events in the kingdom of Israel only increased the harsh treatment she received at the hands of Syria. The record in 2 Kings 13 : 7 says that there had been left to Jehoahaz of the people only

fifty horsemen and ten chariots and 10,000 footmen; for the king of Syria (Benhadad III son of Hazael) destroyed them, and made them like the dust in threshing.

While during the reign of Ahab Israel was able to take her place as one of the three strongest allies against Shalmaneser at Karkar, she is now nothing more than a small province of Syria, absolutely under her will and control. This sore condition of things brought her to her knees, to implore the mercy and aid of Jehovah (2 Kings 13 : 4, 5). We find that a deliverer was granted, but who was he? and whence came he?

202. Adad-nirari on the Horizon. The Westland had remained undisturbed by Assyria for some forty years—from the middle of Shalmaneser's reign to that of his grandson, Adad-nirari III (812-782 B. C.). The former conqueror had extended his boundaries beyond those of any previous Assyrian king. At least five campaigns were conducted for the conquest of these western regions. Adad-nirari's campaigns of 804 and 797 B. C. decided the fate at that time of Phœnicia, Syria, and Palestine. His own epitomized story is as follows: ³

Palace of Adad-nirari, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the world, king of Assyria, . . . who conquered from the bank of the

³ I *Rawl.*, 35, 10-18.

Euphrates the land of the Hittites, the land of Amurru in its entirety, Tyre, Sidon, the land of Omri, Edom, Philistia. As far as the great sea of the setting sun (Mediterranean) they cast themselves at my feet, taxes and tribute I laid upon them. To the country of Damascus I marched; Mari, king of Damascus, in his royal city, Damascus, I shut up. The fear of the brilliancy of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed him, he embraced my feet, became a vassal. 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of copper, 5,000 talents of iron, variegated clothing, and linen (?), a couch of ivory, a seat inlaid with ivory, his goods and property beyond calculation, in Damascus, his royal city, in his palace, I received.

This account tells us that the rival power, Damascus, was crushed, that Israel was released from the immediate presence of that dangerous foe, and that the entire east coast-line of the Mediterranean Sea was compelled to yield submission to Adad-nirari king of Assyria. The tenor of the record of the Assyrian king leads us to conclude that of all his conquests, that of Syria and Damascus was the most important. Since the appearance in Syria of Shalmaneser III in 854 B. C., Damascus by its very location and strength had been defiant and unconquered; but the cutting off of its allies one by one and the crippling of its resources by successive invasions by the army of Assyria now reduced it to submission. This disposed of the most formidable obstruction to Assyria's free course toward the southwest with all its important small peoples, and especially to an open roadway to the land of the Pharaohs on the Nile with its wealth of cities and their accumulated treasure. Its subjection also meant not only relief for Israel, but freedom in the immediate future to extend their power and increase their revenues. Without the statement of the definite facts in the fragmentary inscriptions of this king, it is probable that Adad-nirari

exercised this sway and collected his tribute until his death 782 B. C. The expansion of Israel under Jeroboam II, and of Judah under Uzziah, occurred during the following decades of inactivity on the part of the kings of Assyria.

NOTE ON FIG. 38, tail-piece below: Among the many captives carried to Egypt from Southwestern Asia are some remarkable faces. This well-formed head is of a native of the old Aramæan city Damascus (§211), and explains to us, in part, the reason for the progress and importance of that city in ancient Syria.





CHAPTER XVIII

TIGLATH-PILESER III AND ANARCHY IN ISRAEL

203. Israel's Expansion. After the death of Adad-nirari III (782 B. C.), the next three kings of Assyria employed their mediocre strength and all their time in the neighborhood of their capitals. The West-

NOTE ON FIG. 161, head-piece above: The royal residence of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.) was at Calah (Nimrud) on the Tigris river south of Nineveh. On the walls of his palace this bas-relief was found. His accession to the throne opened a new era for Assyria and for all the Westland, including Israel and Judah (§§205-211). He mentions in his inscriptions Menahem, Pekah, and Hoshea, kings of Israel, Ahaz king of Judah, and Rezin king of Damascus.

land was practically left to itself and to the will of its populations. Armenia especially was the object of Assyrian incursions, though its resistance was so formidable as to force Assyria to withdraw from the field. The weakness of the Assyrian kingdom is apparent when it is said that the monarchs were barely able to hold their own in their capitals. Their inaction certainly reveals a condition which might seriously endanger the permanency and perpetuity of Assyria as a world-power.

But this period of Assyrian inactivity became the opportunity of the Westland. Jeroboam II, the fourth king in the dynasty of Jehu, who began to reign about the time of the death of Adad-nirari, rose to the occasion. The chastisement, depletion, and humiliation of the kingdom of Syria by the late Assyrian king opened a door for Israel's expansion. Jeroboam not only recovered the Israelitish territory which had fallen into the hands of Syria, but engaged in campaigns directly against her. His marvelous military successes carried his arms and planted them almost on the banks of the Euphrates, and at Hamath, in northern Syria. On the east of the Jordan also he conquered the Moabites, and set his southern boundaries at the lower end of the Dead Sea. This immense territory gave Israel her largest realm and made possible for her the natural development of her resources. This expansion of territory soon resulted in increased revenues, in larger influence over her neighbors, and in more abundant leisure and luxury. These commercial and social conditions and their direful results are set forth in the gruesome pictures of the prophets, Amos and Hosea.

204. Judah's Expansion. The kingdom of Judah, now under the reign of Uzziah (Azariah), likewise took advantage of the decline of Syria and the absence of Assyria. These two kings, Jeroboam II and Uzziah, contemporaries, and on peaceful terms, were almost equally victorious in their respective spheres. Uzziah conquered the Philistines, and the peoples to the south and southeast, until he reached practically the boundaries of the old Solomonic realm. This territory and people he thoroughly organized. He established a large and well-trained standing army, to meet all emergencies that might endanger his kingdom. He strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem by adding to its defenses some of the most formidable weapons of his time. His interest in the direct welfare of his people is seen in the fact that he "hewed out many cisterns, for he had much cattle" (2 Chron. 26 : 10), and so took a keen interest in animal husbandry.

Thus the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, under Jeroboam II and Uzziah respectively, mark the acme of political and commercial prosperity of the dual kingdom. Their combined territory was now almost coterminous with the Davidic and Solomonic realm. Their opportunity was due to the crippling of Syria by Assyria, and to Assyria's absence from the Westland. This prosperity of Israel and Judah led to their decay.

205. Rise of Tiglath-pileser III. The declining health of the Assyrian kingdom was entirely restored by the accession, probably usurpation, of the throne by Pulu, or as he chose to call himself, Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.). This king took hold of affairs with

a new grip. He shook up the dry bones of the Assyria of the last thirty-five years, and inaugurated new and aggressive policies. He made rapid work of his conquests throughout his realm. His plans of organization and government differed from those of his predecessors. They so unified and strengthened his hold upon his peoples that the Assyrian seemed once more to be permanently established. His policy of deportation of rebellious subjects and of the importation of subjects from foreign peoples to take their places, was inaugurated on an extensive scale. In addition to this, Tiglath-pileser established in his vassal states, wherever possible, a civil in place of a military administration, one in which the populace would have some part or word. We cannot indicate here, of course, the merest outline of the healthful influence of these governmental reforms.

206. Tiglath-pileser Grips Syria. The first two years of Tiglath-pileser's reign were occupied in settling up palace affairs, quelling uprisings, and establishing his authority in Mesopotamia, even down to the south of Babylon. For the next three years (743-740) he was engaged about Arpad, in northern Syria, both in taking its adjacent territory and in storming that city. It finally fell, and Assyria became master of all the adjoining districts. The Hittite peoples on the Orontes and in northern Syria rendered submission, and were made a part of the Assyrian domain (739 B. C.). In the next year of his reign Tiglath-pileser made further additions to his realm. As one of the results of this campaign, his own records say: ¹

¹ III *Rawl.*, 9, No. 3, 30-32.

Nineteen districts of the city of Hamath, together with the towns in their environs, situated on the shore of the sea of the setting sun (Mediterranean), which in their faithlessness they had seized for Azariah, I restored to the territory of the land of Assyria; my officers as governors I placed over them.

Who was this Azariah? A fragment of another inscription² adds a new fact: "(In) the course of my campaign the tribute of (Azri-)ja-a-u, of the land of Ja-u-da-a-a, like . . . Az-ri-ja-u of the land of Ja-u-di," . . . This was either Azariah (Uzziah), king of Judah, who might have had possessions in Hamath, as hinted in 2 Kings 14 : 28, or, was he more probably an Azariah of a kingdom of Jaudi north of Syria? The land of Jaudi was a district of Paniammu, king of Samal (Sinjerli), whose inscription invokes the gods of Jaudi.

207. Tiglath-pileser In the same year (738 B. C.) Tiglath-pileser moved southward against Israel. In 2 Kings 15 : 19, 20 we find:
Overawes Israel.

There came against the land Pul the king of Assyria; and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand. And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land.

The Assyrian annals of Tiglath-pileser from this time specify³ that he

received the tribute of Kushtashpi of Kummukh, Rezon of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre, Sibittibaal of Gebal, Urikki of Kue, Pisiris of Carchemish, Eniel of Hamath, Panammu of

² III Rawl., 9, No. 2, 2-3.

³ Layard, *Inscriptions*, 50, 10.



Fig. 55. The God Hadad

This colossal statue of the god Hadad was found at Samal (Fig. 127). It is the second element in the name Benhadad, first in Hadadezer and the like. It carries on its surface an Aramaic inscription of Bar-Rekub (Fig. 23) dedicated to the gods Hadad, El, Rekub-el, Shamash, and the gods of Jadi (Jaudi) of North Syria.

Samal, . . . Zabibe, queen of Arabia, gold, silver, lead, iron, elephant hides, ivory, variegated clothing, linen stuff, purple and red stuffs, *ushu*-wood, *ukarinnu*-wood, precious things, a royal treasure, fat sheep, whose pelts were dyed red, winged birds of heaven, whose wings were purple; horses, mules, oxen and sheep, camels, male and female with their foals I received.

These statements inform us that Menahem of Israel, at least, could not occupy the throne without paying the price of that position, without turning over to Assyria a guaranty of his submission. The amount of tribute money was stupendous, nearly if not quite one and one-half million dollars.

This story tells us that the northern kingdom was nothing more nor less than a vassal province of the dominion of Assyria. With a vast amount of booty, and guaranties of submission on the part of these western provinces, including Phœnicia, Syria, and northern Israel, Tiglath-pileser returned to his capital on the Tigris. From that point he carried campaigns over into Media and annexed large portions of that land to his imperial domain. Toward the north he chastised and partially annexed Armenia. In 734 B. C. he turned again toward the great Westland, from which three years before he had transferred to the capacious coffers of Assyria such enormous treasures of gold, silver, and precious articles.

208. Anarchy and the Prophets. The thrones of the Israelitish kings suffered frequent changes. Jotham of Judah, whose reign was mostly contemporaneous with the days of the leprous Uzziah, his father, died in young manhood only a year or so after his father. His successor was the youthful Ahaz, susceptible to all the allurements of foreign religions. The throne of Israel

was occupied at Menahem's death by Pekahiah, his son, who in turn was slain by Pekah, a general in the northern army. These frequent changes only complicated a distressing condition of affairs and sapped Israel's power of resistance to any foreign invader or conqueror. There was also a longing look toward Egypt as the place of possible deliverance from the Assyrian oppressor. The political and social distress of the northern kingdom is vividly portrayed in the book of Hosea (chaps. 4-14). The southern kingdom, with all its sturdy kings, its great outward prosperity, and its apparent conservatism, now fell into young, weak, and vicious hands. Its very prosperity as that in the northern kingdom had supplied the means for the luxury and corruption which followed. In this same period we have the beginnings of the prophecies of Isaiah. His spiritual perception discerned the trend of affairs, and his words from Jehovah gave wise counsel in the face of the impending calamities. The invasion of the Syrian and the Assyrian hosts, and the futility of a league with Egypt, were all open to his keen sense of the situation and his keener desire to break off his yoke.

**209. Ahaz
Calls for
Help.**

Early in the reign of Ahaz, Pekah of the northern kingdom and Rezin of Damascus made a league and probably agreed to rebel against Tiglath-pileser. These two kings, it seems, attempted to force Ahaz into such a coalition. Isaiah's admonition (chap. 7) was that he should quietly trust in Jehovah and let Him control affairs; but the formidable front of the allies, and Ahaz's vain endeavor to repel their advances, finally drove him to take refuge in his fortified capital. A portion of the Syrian troops and

the Edomites combined and captured Elath on the gulf of Akaba. The allies gradually advanced against Jerusalem itself. Ahaz, now reduced in territory almost to the walls of Jerusalem, was in terror. Even the strong words of Isaiah were no encouragement to him. To prevent a crushing defeat and humiliation at the hands of the allied troops now moving on the city Ahaz made a frantic appeal to Tiglath-pileser, whose advance in the north was creating wide-spread alarm. The purpose of his appeal may be seen in his own confession (2 Kings 16 : 7 ; 2 Chron. 28 : 16) : "I am thy servant and thy son." These words are a surrender of his realm and a guaranty of submission and tribute—these in spite of Isaiah's protest and prophecies.

210. Tiglath-pileser Responds to Ahaz. Tiglath-pileser's campaign had for its immediate purpose the reconquest and organization of all the Westland, and next the conquest of Egypt. His campaign of 738 B. C. had accomplished much, but this one of 734 had for its purpose the completion of the task. His line of march seems to have been down the sea-coast as far as Carmel. Thence he entered Canaan through the plain of Esdraelon and raided all of the neighboring country. The royal annalist in 2 Kings 15 : 29 says :

In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali; and he carried them captive to Assyria.

Tiglath-pileser's own record, though aggravatingly broken and fragmentary, seems to confirm this statement

in that it speaks of territory on the borders of the "land of Omri," which was annexed to the realm of Assyria.

Tiglath-pileser next advanced against Philistia. "Hanno of Gaza," says he, "fled before my arms, and escaped to Egypt." The badly broken text tells intermittently how he captured Gaza, and carried off vast sums of booty and captives to Assyria. On this boundary-line he erected his statue symbolizing his sovereignty. In this same fragmentary inscription we come upon a most interesting statement. It shows that the monarch, content with his southern limits, turned his attention to his rebellious foes in the north. His southern campaign had, at least, prevented any alliance of his rebels with Egypt, and he could take his own course in disposing of them. In a fragment of the same inscription quoted above he says, ⁴ "As Pekah, their king, they had deposed, Hoshea I appointed king over them." The Biblical record (2 Kings 15 : 30) says: "And Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead." The two records taken together seem to state that Hoshea, at the instigation and promise of Tiglath-pileser, may have murdered the king of the northern kingdom, and occupied his throne under the sway of his Assyrian lord.

**211. Tiglath-pileser
Crushes
Damascus.** The order of Tiglath-pileser's movements at this time is not quite certain. But his next stroke after a campaign against Arabia seems to have been against Damascus, the headquarters of his chief rebel, Rezin. This formidable capital and fortress was left for his last great

⁴ *III Rawl.*, 10, No. 2, 20.



Fig. 40. Damascus, a View from Within

You are looking across the city to the mountains that protect it on the north. Not having any natural rock or hill for a conspicuous citadel, Damascus has erected a strong fortress in the middle of its flat area, equipped with guns to command all its surrounding municipal boundaries. It is one of the most interesting of oriental cities, frequented by great numbers of trading Arab tribes of the desert.

fight. Outside of the city he met and routed the Syrian army (732 B. C.) and drove it within its walls. He states that Rezin fled into his city where he was "shut up like a bird in a cage." The Assyrian army laid waste all the surrounding country, the parks, and the city gardens outside the wall. Important residences, and hundreds of small towns and villages in every direction were assaulted, captured, and destroyed. The sixteen tributary districts of Damascus were made "like heaps in the wake of a storm-flood." This harrowing picture of devastation practically concludes the fragmentary record of that campaign. That Damascus was taken and its peoples deported to Assyria seems implied in subsequent hints. And the Biblical record (2 Kings 16 : 9f.) confirms this point : "And the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin."

212. **Tiglath-pileser Master of the Westland.** This suppression of Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus made Tiglath-pileser master of all this southern territory of Syria. The appeal of Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser, though probably not in its proper chronological order, is noted in Kings just after the record of the fall of Damascus. The great monarch is supposed to have summoned his tributary princes and governors of this Westland to appear before him in the midst of this captured fortress, Damascus. One of the notables at this great gathering was the king of Judah, the ignoble Ahaz (2 Kings 16 : 10). He had sent to Tiglath-pileser as a gift, "the silver and the gold that was found in the house of Jehovah, and in the treasures of the king's house."

Probably this was simply the first instalment of a tribute which thereafter he paid annually into the treasury of Assyria. In a list of his western subjects, Tiglath-pileser includes, among a host of others, these names: ⁵ "Matanbaal of Arvad, Sanipu of Ammon, Salamanu of Moab, Mitinti of Ashkelon, Ahaz of Judah, Kaushmalak of Edom, . . . Hanno of Gaza." These were his tribute-payers, who rendered the same either as the result of conquest, or of fear before his imperial majesty. The last reductions or submissions made by the Assyrian ruler were the coast states of Phœnicia. In short, Tiglath-pileser's realm embraced all the Westland, including Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, Samal, in north Syria, Kue in Cilicia, and Carchemish on the Euphrates. These paid him an enormous tribute, and with these vast stores Tiglath-pileser returned to his eastern capital.

213. Tiglath-pileser's Climax. The remaining four years of his life were spent in the East. The peoples of Babylonia, the Chaldeans, presented an obstinate resistance to his authority, but by the end of two years he succeeded in establishing his power and in so transporting the population as to avoid immediate rebellion. The last two years of his life he employed in extending his architectural schemes, building and beautifying his palaces and temples, strengthening his walls and fortifications, and in recording the annals of his long and prosperous reign. His last days were passed in peace and quiet, and in the enjoyment of his well-won victories, and his abundant resources. His reign meant for Israel the end of all independence, the position of a subaltern after

⁵ *II Rawl.*, 67, 61-62.

chastisement, and the humiliation of a petty province. For Assyria, his reign meant strong organization, better unification of the peoples conquered, and vigorous transportation of rebels as a prevention against future uprisings.

NOTE ON FIG. 17, tail-piece below: An Assyrian Heavy-armed Soldier. He wore a coat of mail, a helmet, a long sword, and carried one or two javelins. This warrior wields a weapon which resembles a bar used by sappers to pry the stones out of a wall.





CHAPTER XIX

SARGON II AND THE COLLAPSE OF ISRAEL

214. Complications in Northern Israel.

When Tiglath-pileser III died (727 B. C.) he was succeeded by his son, Shalmaneser V. Up to the present we are so unfortunate as not to have discovered any documents or annals which this king may have prepared. In the Old Testament, however, we have two distinct references to him and to the part that he took in the final overthrow of Samaria. The king of Israel on the throne now was Hoshea, an appointee of Tiglath-pileser. Shalmaneser's relation with Hoshea is summed up in these Biblical statements (2 Kings 17 : 3-6) :

NOTE ON FIG. 19, head-piece above: A Plain Assyrian Sun-disk. Occasionally we find merely the sun-disk with no accompaniments, no gods, and no other symbols, as if to leave to the worshiper the choice of his own divinity to accompany the wings (cf. Figs. 8, 44).

Against him (Hoshea) came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his servant, and brought him tribute. And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt, and offered no tribute to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year: therefore the king of Assyria shut him up, and bound him in prison. Then the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years. In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away unto Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.

The next account is found in connection with Hezekiah's reign (2 Kings 18 : 9-11):

And it came to pass in the fourth year of king Hezekiah, which was the seventh year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Israel, that Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria, and besieged it. And at the end of three years they took it: in the sixth year of Hezekiah, which was the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel, Samaria was taken. And the king of Assyria carried Israel away unto Assyria, and put them in Halah, and on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.

Aside from material for checking the dates, these records are practically one and the same.

The political situation which led to this final act is gathered from contemporaneous records. It appears that Hoshea, always loyal to his old master, Tiglath-pileser III, had become involved in political intrigues of a serious nature. The death of Tiglath-pileser had given Hoshea an opportunity to turn his eyes in other directions. An embassy was sent, not to the Pharaoh of Egypt, himself, but to So, Sibe, a petty king on the eastern frontier of the Delta. Hanno of Gaza had returned from his exile, and probably by the support of So had succeeded in

wresting his throne from the Assyrian governor. So was then most likely to take other steps to further his influence in Asia. Since Shishak's invasion of Rehoboam's realm, the Egyptians had not invaded Canaan. Change of rulers on the Tigris, however, gave So his opportunity. Doubtless these western rulers were quite willing to enter a coalition against Assyria, and to combine with their near neighbors in Egypt.

Rumors of rebellion, along with refusals to pay the usual annual tribute, reached the ears of Shalmaneser. The Assyrian army, together with the provincial garrisons, adopted means for suppressing it. The mere presence and demand of the Assyrian officials brought Hoshea to his knees, and he paid the tribute. We must note also that Hoshea, notwithstanding his pretended submission to Shalmaneser, had already sent to So of Egypt, to consummate a league. Simultaneously, apparently, he refused to pay further tribute to Assyria. This precipitated the plans of Shalmaneser, and Hoshea was seized, either in battle or in his capital, thrown into chains and imprisoned. His place of confinement and his fate are as yet unknown. The land of Israel was raided and its capital, Samaria, besieged. Whatever combination may have been effected with the king of Egypt, it availed nothing for Israel. Her capital stained with political intrigues was doomed before the army of Assyria.

215. Sargon II Captures Samaria. The statements in the Biblical record (2 Kings 18 : 9-11) seem to say that the king of Assyria, who laid siege to Samaria, also captured it. But that credit is claimed by a usurper who chose to call himself Sargon (II), the

successor of Shalmaneser V, in December, 722 B. C. The change in the occupants of the Ninevite throne, apparently, brought about slight disturbances in the empire. The armies of occupation and siege remained faithful at their posts, and the stability of the government was not endangered. Sargon's records are very full, and specify among the events of the first year of his reign this one: ¹

In the beginning of my reign, in my first year . . . Samaria I besieged, I captured; 27,290 persons of its inhabitants I carried captive; 50 chariots therein I chose out, but the remainder (of the people) I allowed to retain their possessions. I appointed my governor over them, and the tribute of the former king I imposed upon them.

This record supplements the Kings account, in that it supplies the name of the captor, and specifies the number of inhabitants carried captive. This record omits, while the Biblical account names, the places to which they were carried. In addition to this, 2 Kings 17: 24f. speaks of the special im-



Fig. 167

A War-standard of Assyria

This is the most dignified and stately war-standard found among the Assyrians. Mounted at the top of a staff was the suppressed head of a bull, above which there was a circle. Standing in the upper half of the circle with head partly above the line was the god Ashur with a drawn bow, flanked on either side by five rays braided (!) into the top of the staff which extends into the circle. On either side of the braid and backed up against it are two noble bulls facing outwards, symbolizing the strength for which the accompanying army stands.

¹ Winckler, *Sargon*, Pl. 1, 10ff.

portations by which this territory was repopled, and the syncretistic worship which sprang up among them.

The downfall and deportation of the chief population of Samaria marked the last stage in the history of the northern kingdom. From the close of the reign of Jeroboam II it had rapidly declined. It had fallen into the hands of Assyrian monarchs, been raided, plundered, oppressed, and almost strangled to death. Its final appeal to So, a petty frontier king of Egypt, signed its death-warrant. Such intrigue and treachery no Assyrian monarch would long tolerate, least of all on the part of Israel. Its disappearance, its denationalization, was the most eloquent answer to the religious and political policies established and perpetuated by the successive usurpers of its throne. "The Ten Tribes" that were distributed throughout the Assyrian domain, were assimilated, as were the few country people who remained in the land, with their neighbors. Their captivities extended over many years of time, and their amalgamation with their nearest neighbors was rapid and probably complete. The literary fiction of the discovery of the "lost ten tribes" has assumed great prominence in some circles. But any one who has acquainted himself with Assyria's methods of government, with the wide distribution and assimilation of the Israelitish captives, and the impossibility of preserving intact the identity of those tribes as a whole, will recognize the futility of any attempt to find them. That members of certain tribes, and many of them, took advantage of Cyrus' decree is certain. But there is no people or nation or tongue today who can be identified as "the lost ten tribes."



Fig 134. Sargon II and His Vizier

A representation from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad (§219). The king and his officer are in dress parade, each with his weapon sheathed. These two officials of the Assyrian empire were probably most responsible for the wiping out of the northern kingdom at Samaria, and the distribution of the ten tribes throughout Mesopotamia (§215).

216. Sargon Victor in the Westland. Sargon's incumbency of the throne was put to the test early in his reign. The malcontents of Babylonia demanded rapid movements on the part of his army. An indecisive, yet terrific, battle was fought on Babylonian soil. Sargon temporarily abandoned this district for the Westland. In 720 B. C. he found that Hamath, in the extreme north, was in revolt. The inscription above quoted contains this:

In the second year of my reign Ilubidi of Hamath . . . mustered his numerous troops at Karkar. . . Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, Samaria, he made rebellious against me. . . Sibe his tartan he summoned to his aid, and to give fight and battle came to meet me. In the name of Ashur my lord I accomplished his defeat. Sibe fled like a shepherd whose sheep were stolen and scattered. Hanno I caught with my hand and took him bound to my city Ashur. The city Raphia I devastated, destroyed, burnt with fire. I took captive 9,033 people, with their many possessions.

Again he says:² "I plundered Samaria and the whole land of Omri." At Karkar Sargon met them and victoriously defeated them, flaying alive their rebel leader. Suspicious that the king of Egypt was inspiring these rebellious uprisings, Sargon pushed his way down along the Mediterranean sea-coast. Hanno of Gaza again, as in Tiglath-pileser's reign, fled toward Egypt. The allied Egyptian army came to his relief, but Sargon completely overthrew them at Raphia, along the seacoast (720 B. C.). Sibe, the Egyptian, retreated to the Nile, but Sargon carried Hanno king of Gaza and his numerous plunder to Assyria.

² *Ibid.*, 38, 31f.

217. Sargon's
Far-away
Campaigns.

Sargon occupied his time during the next eight years in reconquering, reorganizing, and unifying his realm. One or two significant remarks in his records are worthy of notice just here. In 717 B. C. Carchemish on the Euphrates, the headquarters of the Hittites for many cen-



Fig. 62. Supposed Hebrew Captives as Slaves in Nineveh

Palaces and temples in Babylonia-Assyria were usually built on an artificially raised mound or terrace, to avoid the dangers of the annual inundations. These raised foundations were made by slave labor, the mere carrying-up in baskets of the dirt and stones to be poured out on the top of the mound. Is it too much to suppose that the figures in this scene represent the scantily, and simply dressed Hebrew captives helping to build a terrace for a new palace or temple?

turies, fell before his arms, and yielded an incalculable booty. He sent an army also to penetrate the Arabian desert and to bring under his sway its numerous tribes. In 715 B. C. his records read :³

The tribes of Tamudi and Ibadid, Marsimani and Khayapa, far-off Arabians, inhabitants of the wilderness, of whom no sage or scholar had known, who had never paid tribute to any king, I smote by the strength of Ashur my lord; the rest of them I carried away and settled in Samaria. From Pharaoh king of Egypt, Samsi queen of Arabia, and Ithamar of Sabæa, kings of the sea-coast and of the wilderness, I received as their tribute, gold and the product of the mines, precious stones, ivory, *ushu*-plants, spices of all sorts, horses and camels.

The extent of Sargon's raids and sway sketched in this excerpt, stretched southward into the Arabian peninsula, and westward to Egypt's borders. The petty Egyptian king Sibe recognized Assyria's sovereignty by payment of tribute. In another direction Sargon had his hands full, for we read :

Yaubidi of Hamath, a soldier (?), with no right to the throne, a bad Hittite, had set his heart on the kingdom of Hamath; he had caused Arpad, Simirra, Damascus to rebel against me, made them of one mind, and mustered them for battle. The whole army of Assyria I called out and in Karkar his beloved city, I besieged him with his army. I took Karkar, I burnt it with fire. Him I flayed, and all his accomplices in sin I slew in their cities; I established peace. 200 chariots and 200 cavalry I collected from the people of Hamath, and added to my royal forces.

This quotation records the overthrow of Hamath and Arpad (Isaiah 10 : 9).

³ Annals, 94-99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31, lines 27ff.

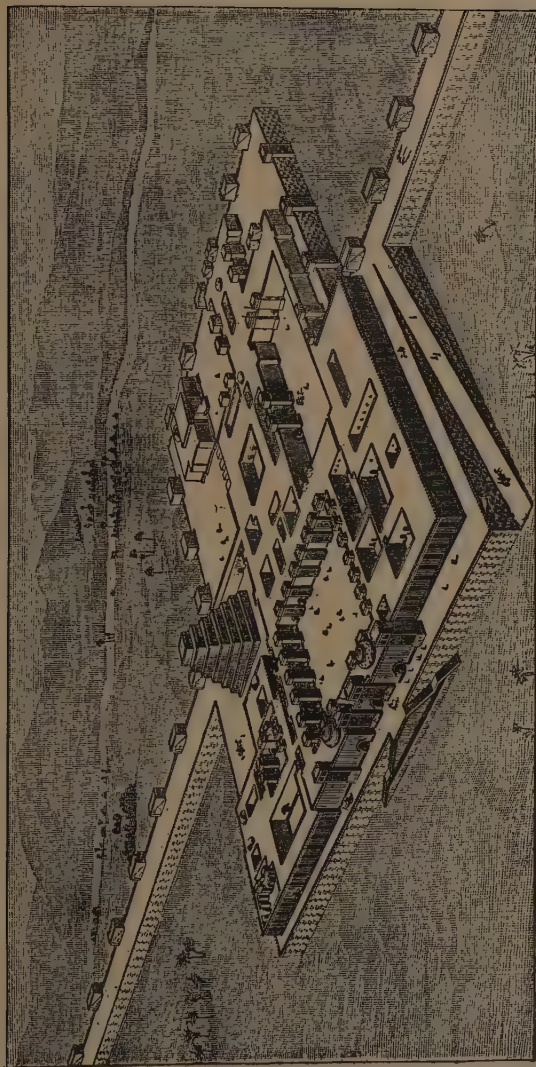


Fig. 132. Attempted Restoration of Palace of Sargon II

The royal grounds of Sargon II were slightly more than one mile square, surrounded by a wall. Near the middle of the northwest side of this wall, mostly inside and partly outside, was built this beautiful palace, on a raised platform, and covering about twenty-five acres. The superb entrance was on the inside, and was approached by steps, and by inclines up which the royal chariots could be driven to the very doors, and even into the courts of the palace. The main entrance was guarded by tremendous sculptured colossi, human headed-bulls carved out of alabaster (see Fig. 133). On the top of the palace stood the sacred ziggurat so necessary to every complete palace and temple (§§96, 97).

218. Sargon's Ashdod Campaign. The name Sargon is mentioned but once in the Old Testament, and that in connection with the next notable campaign (Isaiah 20 : 1) : "In the year that Tartan came unto Ashdod, when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him, and he fought against Ashdod and took it." This vigorous campaign into Philistia took place in the year 711 B. C., and is described in Sargon's own records. It appears that Ashdod was the center of political disturbance in the southwest, and that the contagion was likely to spread among other neighboring dependencies. Azuri, king of Ashdod, had conspired with neighboring rulers to throw off allegiance to Assyria. Sargon had deposed him and set on the throne his brother, Ahimiti. The aspiring peoples of this section refused to recognize Assyria's representative, and set on the throne Yamani. Sargon's own words are :⁵

But Yamani heard from afar of the coming of my expedition, and fled to the borders of Egypt, which lie beside Melukhkha, and it was not found where he was . . . fear of the splendor of my royalty overspread him, and terror was poured over him; he (king of Melukhkha) threw him (Yamani) into chains and fetters and bands of iron, and they brought him to Assyria to my presence—a long journey.

In another inscription Sargon tells us of the part taken in this sedition by other provinces of Canaan :⁶

Philistia, Judah, Moab, who live on the sea-coast, who had paid tribute and gifts to Ashur my lord, planned rebellion and evil against me; they brought gifts of friendship to Pharaoh king of Egypt, a prince who could not save them, and endeavored to form with him an alliance.

⁵ Winckler, *Sargon*, Pl. 33, 1, 101f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. 44D, 25ff.

The hope of these western rebels was a defensive alliance with Egypt. But Sargon's movements were both too rapid and his strokes too hard to allow such a league to be in any way effective. The peoples of Ashdod were severely punished, and even carried away captive, but there is nothing to indicate that the neighboring states so suffered. The submission of the Egyptian king in sending to Assyria the rebel king Azuri of Ashdod, seemed to guarantee, for a time at least, no further interference from that quarter.

219. Sargon's Last Years. The chronological order of events during the remainder of Sargon's reign is not certainly known. If Hezekiah's sickness immediately followed Sargon's campaign against Ashdod (in 711 B. C.), then Merodach-baladan's embassy, nominally to congratulate Hezekiah on recovery from his sickness, but really to ascertain the possibility of an alliance against Sargon, took place in 710 B. C. This order is not impossible, for Sargon's next two or three years were spent in fully crushing all of his foes in southern Babylonia. After the conquest and organization of all his long-dreamed-of realm, Sargon sought to perpetuate his fame in another way. He established at Khorsabad, about twelve miles north of Nineveh, his royal residence. Here he built an enormous palace, uncovered by Botta (§30) and pictured in the restoration by Place, an experienced architect who studied the remains on the ground. Sargon entered this magnificent home in 706 B. C., and in the very next summer was killed in an eastern border skirmish between his troops and the border peoples. Sargon was probably a usurper, for he nowhere refers to his ancestry; and was



Fig 133. Colossi of the Palace of Sargon II

Botta was not able to bring all his stupendous finds at Khorsabad to the Louvre (\$30). These two enormous man-headed winged bulls are now a main support to this end of the Assyrian room. They are perfect specimens of the art of Sargon's day and carry across their bodies exquisitely cut inscriptions, dating from about 706 B. C., when Sargon began to occupy his new residence.

an experienced officer in the army, probably well along in years. The apparent success of most of his campaigns showed him to be an excellent leader, a superior judge of men, and a reasonably successful organizer of the conquered territory. He is the first Assyrian king who claims to have secured in any way the recognition of Assyrian sovereignty in Egypt, up to the point of payment of tribute.

NOTE ON FIG. 18, tail-piece below: Slingers were a necessary contingent of every army attacking a city or fortress. Great skill was acquired in this method of warfare (1 Sam. 17 : 4; 2 Kings 3 : 25; Judg. 20 : 10). In the siege of Lachish (Fig. 86) the slingers are doing effective service against the besieged. Notice the splendid uniform worn by this Assyrian warrior.





CHAPTER XX

SENNACHERIB'S WESTERN CAMPAIGN AND HEZEKIAH

220. Sennacherib Rounds up Babylonia. The death of Sargon yielded the throne of Assyria to his son, Sennacherib (705-681 B. C.). Whether this son had anything to do with his father's passing is not known. It is at least significant that the father's name is not found in the records of the son. This king of As-

NOTE ON FIG. 138, head-piece above: As soon as Lachish fell (§221) its captives filed before this king, did obeisance, and became his subjects. This close-up brings out the decorative character of his throne, his royal robes; and his bow and arrow symbolize his official position in time of peace and in war.

syria, from his frequent mention in the Bible, is quite familiar to Bible students. His records of his own campaigns, his conquests, his cruelties, modify in no important respect the character attributed to him by the books of Kings and Isaiah.

The earlier activities of Sennacherib were confined to his eastern and southern boundaries. He measured lances



Fig. 137. Sennacherib at the Head of His Army

The Assyrian chariot of two wheels carried under ordinary circumstances the driver, the king, here Sennacherib, and an attendant. The steeds in this instance are mules, if there is more than one. Behind the chariot is the royal body-guard, each equipped with a coat of mail and army boots, and the leader with a spear and dagger. The royal parade here seen will disappear in actual warfare (§221).

with the irrepressible Chaldeans of the Sea-lands. Mar-duk-zakir-shum, whom the Babylonians had put upon the throne of Babylon, was displaced after one month, by Merodach-baladan (cf. Isaiah 39). Sennacherib swooped down on the intriguing army of seceders and crushed them, and established his authority in lower Babylonia. His own words are: ¹

In my first expedition, I accomplished the defeat of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, with the forces of Elam, his ally, in the regions of the city of Kish. In the midst of that battle he left his camp and fled alone; he saved his life. The chariots, horses, wagons, and mules, which at the attack of battle he left, my hands took. I entered with joy into his palace which was in Babylon. I opened his treasure-house; gold, silver, gold and silver articles, precious stones of all kinds, his unnumbered possessions, a great booty; the women of his palace, princes, body-guards, male and female musicians, all the remainder of his troops, and his palace servants, I brought out and counted as spoil.

To secure himself still further, he captured and pillaged seventy-five cities and 420 villages; 208,000 captives, with nearly a million large and small cattle, he deported to Assyria. As a kind of figure-head, he placed on the throne of Babylon Bel-ibni, while the country of Chaldea (=Sea-lands) was under a military governor. With these rulers in power, Sennacherib returned to Nineveh.

221. Senna-cherib's Own Record. The most signal Assyrian campaign touching the Old Testament occurred in 701 B. C. Sennacherib tells his story in simple yet eloquent words: ²

In my third campaign, I marched to the land of the Hittites. The fear of the splendor of my lordship overwhelmed Luli, king of Sidon,

¹ Taylor Cylinder, col. I, 19ff.

² Taylor Cyl., col. II, 1, 34f.



Fig. 86. The Storming of Lachish by Sennacherib's Army

No more vivid representation of the siege of any city is found than the one you here see, carved on the walls of Sennacherib's palace in Nineveh. Battering-rams, archers, slingers are all in action. The enemies are hurling torches upon the wooden rams which are protected by streams of water over their front. The surrendering ones are coming out of a side gate, and the rebel leaders are impaled on stakes. Other views give the sequence of this siege (cf. 2 Kings 18 : 13, 14, 17; 19 : 8).

and he fled to a distance in the midst of the sea. I subdued his land. Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bethzitte, Zarephath, Makhalliba, Ushu, Achzib, Accho, his strong cities, his fortresses, places of food and drink—the might of the weapons of Ashur my lord overwhelmed them, and they threw themselves at my feet. I set Tubal on the throne of royalty over them. I imposed upon him annual tribute and tax of my lordship, without fail. Menahem (of) Shamsimuruna, Tubal (of) Sidon, Abdiliti (of) Arvad, Urumilki (of) Gebal (=Byblos), Mitinti (of) Ashdod, Puduel (of) Beth-ammon, Chemosh-nadab (of) Moab, Malik-ram-mu (of) Edom, all the kings of the Westland, regions wide extended, their weighty gifts with possessions, they brought before me, and kissed my feet. And Sidka (=Zedekiah) king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke, his ancestral gods, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, his kindred, I took away and deported to Assyria. Sharruludari, son of Rukibtu, their former king, I set over the people of Ashkelon, and imposed upon him the payment of tribute and gifts of my sovereignty and he became my vassal. In the course of my campaign, Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Bana-barka, Azuru, the cities of Sidka which had not promptly prostrated themselves at my feet, I besieged, I captured, I carried off their spoil. The governors, the princes, and people of Ekron, who had cast into fetters of iron Padi their king, against their covenant and oath to Assyria, and had turned him over as an enemy to Hezekiah of Judah, who shut him up in a dungeon—feared in their hearts. The kings of Egypt, the archers, chariots, horses of the king of Melukkhah, a countless army, they summoned, and they came to their relief. In the presence of Eltekeh (Altaku), they drew up in battle array against me, and appealed to their weapons. With the support of Ashur my lord, I fought with them and defeated them. The commander of the chariotry, and the sons of the Egyptian king, together with the commander of the chariotry of the king of Melukkhah, my hands captured alive in the thick of the fight. Eltekeh and Timnath I besieged and took and carried off their spoil.

(Col III.) (Again) I drew near to Ekron; the governors and the princes who had committed sin I slew, and on stakes all around the city I impaled their corpses. The citizens who had done crime and wickedness I took captive. The rest of them who had not committed sin and wickedness, and who were not guilty, I set free. Padi, their king, I brought out from the midst of Jerusalem, and set him

upon the throne of dominion over them, and the tribute of my lordship I imposed upon him. Hezekiah of Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, forty-six of his strongholds and fortresses, and small towns in their vicinity without number, by the assaults of battering-rams, and the blows of engines, the attack of foot-soldiers, sappers, breaches, axes(!) I besieged and took. 200,150 persons, small and great, male and female; horses, mules, asses, camels, large cattle, small cattle, without number, I brought forth from the midst of them, and counted as spoil. Him [Hezekiah] himself, like a bird in a cage in the midst of Jerusalem, his royal city, I shut up. I cast up mounds against him, and whoever would come out of the gate of the city I turned back. His cities which I had spoiled, I cut off from his territory, and gave them to Mitinti king of Ashdod, Padi king of Ekron, Sillibaal king of Gaza, and diminished his territory. In addition to the former tribute, payable annually, I added the tax and tribute due to my lordship, and imposed these upon them. As for Hezekiah himself, the fear of the brilliancy of my lordship overwhelmed him; and the Urbi and his favorite soldiers, whom he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, the city of his royal residence, deserted. Thirty talents of gold, and 800 talents of silver, precious stones, stibium, great stores of lapis-lazuli, couches of ivory, arm-chairs of ivory, elephant's hide, ivory, *ushu*-wood, *ukarinnu*-wood, all kinds of objects, an immense treasure; and his daughters, the women of his palace, male and female musicians, after me to Nineveh, my royal city, I made him send. To deliver the tribute, and to render homage, he sent his ambassador.

222. Reasons for the Western Campaign. This is Sennacherib's record of that memorable western campaign. Its character is not different from that of other Assyrian annals of that period. The Assyrian annalist presented his views of the campaign, or at least as much of it as he wished to appear in the records of his lord. It is scarcely to be expected that he would have recorded anything that would in any way discount the valor or the glory of the Assyrian troops. The Biblical record, on the other hand, describes the expedition

from the view-point of Judah's annalist. In some respects the Assyrian and Biblical records supplement each other. But in other respects they leave great gaps unfilled. They can, however, be so harmonized as to present a reasonably complete story of this campaign.

The object of the campaign lies well on the surface. It is apparent from his own records that he was on an errand of resubjugation. The Phœnician and the Philistine cities had thrown off the yoke of Assyria. Even the few among them who had remained faithful, were forced to join the coalition, as was the case with the authorities in Ekron. Their king, Padi, had been thrown into chains and delivered to Hezekiah, who lodged him in a dungeon in Jerusalem. In fact, the whole chain of cities on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, including Jerusalem, were parties to this uprising. A careful study of the situation shows that there was another element of disturbance, possibly one of the chief elements in the whole movement. Sennacherib's own records, and the prophecies of Isaiah (chaps. 30 and 31), unite in attributing no small part to Egypt. Tirhakah, like his predecessors, was not slow to take advantage of every move toward Asia. Doubtless these rebellious provinces saw that alone they could not face the armies of Assyria, and that their only hope of permanent release from her yoke would be in an alliance with some strong power like Egypt. The Egyptian party at Jerusalem, in spite of Isaiah's protests, despatched ambassadors to the Nile-land to conclude a treaty. From the general political situation, it seems that Hezekiah was a leader in this event, and that this embassy was acting not for Judah alone, but for the com-



Fig. 136. Oriental Institute Cylinder of Sennacherib

A six-sided, baked clay cylinder giving in cuneiform script an account of the campaigns of Sennacherib, including his great drive down the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea toward Egypt in 701 B. C. (§221). Especial emphasis is laid on his treatment of the cities of Philistia, his invasion of Palestine, and the siege of Jerusalem, in which Hezekiah was involved. Purchased by the expedition of the Oriental Institute in 1920-21.

bined allies of the Westland. The direct purpose of Sennacherib then was the suppression and chastisement of all the former subjects of Assyria on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and indirectly, yet not so indirectly, the conquest of Egypt.

223. Accomplishments of the Campaign. According to his own statement Sennacherib began his triumphal march by citing the readiness with which some of the Phœnician rulers prostrated themselves at his feet.

He stormed and took by force every one that resisted his demands. Not a word, however, is said about Tyre unless it is referred to as "in the midst of the sea." It appears that his presence in this country was sufficient to call for the submission of every tribe who did not feel equal to a fight with the Assyrian army. Among those who embraced his feet, were representatives of Sidon, of Arvad, and of Byblos in Phœnicia, also of Ashdod, of the Ammonites, of the Moabites, and of the Edomites. With these loyal cities and provinces already in hand, Sennacherib advanced against the stubborn rebels of Philistia and Jerusalem. Ashkelon and its subject cities first suffered defeat and deportation, and a former king faithful to Assyria, whom the anti-Assyrian leaders had deposed, was restored to his throne. The next stroke was made at Ekron, whose king Padi, loyal to Assyria, had been imprisoned by Hezekiah in Jerusalem. In the midst of the siege, apparently, the approach of the Egyptian army was announced.

Tirhakah had doubtless through the activity of Jerusalem, learned of the invasion of Sennacherib, and, either in faithfulness to his alliance with these rebel states of

Assyria, or as a check on the southwestern advance of the Assyrian monarch, mustered his troops and marched northeast toward Philistia. His army, strengthened by the forces of the governor of the Sinaitic peninsula, was drawn up in battle array at Eltekeh. Sennacherib's army raised the siege from Ekron, moved southward, and met them face to face. The issue of the combat, according to his own account, was the defeat of the Egyptian army, and the capture of some of its chief officers. If true, the Assyrian seems not to have taken advantage of the victory, or at least not to have made record of any advantage even in a treaty which he may have made.

After his defeat of the Egyptians, Sennacherib renewed his siege of rebellious Ekron. The city soon succumbed to his assaults, and was most severely and cruelly punished. The rebels were impaled on stakes all around the city, and the innocent were acquitted. The old king, whom Hezekiah had imprisoned in Jerusalem, was restored to his throne and laid under oath and tribute to Assyria. It is strange, and yet instructive, to find that some of Sennacherib's movements in this plain are not mentioned in his annals thus far discovered. On the walls of his own palace in Nineveh we find, recorded in pictures mainly, some of his most important movements. Among these are the beautiful representations of the siege of Lachish, and after its fall, the reception of its submissive population, and a long line of valuable booty being transferred to Nineveh. The first of these, shown in an accompanying cut (Fig. 86, p. 313), explains in most vivid terms how the Assyrian army stormed and captured a strong fortress. Having thrown up an embankment of

earth against the walls, they placed upon it several layers of stone flagging, upon which they could operate their heavy battering-rams. The enemy, archers and attendants, on the walls and battlemented towers rained torches upon the besiegers, but these were made harmless because an attendant on the battering-ram continually poured over it a stream of water. At the foot of the mound, we see expert slingers, who are taking their part in the assault, while sappers are undermining the walls.

Sennacherib's records are not clear as to the exact time of his ravaging Judah. His summary presents an appalling result of that raid. Forty-six walled cities and fortresses, with countless villages, fell before his assaults and battering-rams. Two hundred thousand, one hundred and fifty captives and an innumerable host of cattle were taken as the spoil of war. After having ravaged and plundered this territory, he besieged Jerusalem, the capital of the arch-rebel, Hezekiah. He boasts of having shut up Hezekiah "like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem," and of having controlled the gates of the city. But he nowhere claims to have taken the king or his capital. His boasts are (1) that he diminished Hezekiah's territory, and assigned to it three kings of the Philistines, (2) that Hezekiah and his allies were overwhelmed with the fear of his majesty, and (3) that Hezekiah sent after him to Nineveh great quantities of valuable tribute, including even members of the royal family, the musicians and the women of the court. This in epitome is Sennacherib's story of his great western campaign touching Jerusalem, as it appears in modern form. Let us now see how it relates itself to the Biblical account.

**224. The
Biblical
Record.**

The Biblical record (2 Kings 18 : 13) says, "Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fortified cities of Judah, and took them." This verse has long been a thorn in the flesh of Biblical students. (1) If the record is to stand as it reads, then Hezekiah began to reign in 715 B. C., and we must wipe out at least three statements regarding the synchronism of the reigns of Hezekiah and Hoshea (2 Kings 18 : 1, 9, 10). (2) If Sennacherib were mere commander-in-chief of Sargon's army, the assertion might refer to Sargon's reduction of Ashdod, though its statements are rather too sweeping to fit that campaign. (3) If for the name "Sennacherib" we substitute "Sargon," the difficulty is relieved though not dissipated. It is not impossible that the compiler of Kings, finding but a single verse that referred to Sargon's Ashdod campaign, put that with its chronological mark at the head of his record of Sennacherib's campaign; and, knowing nothing of the earlier raid, deliberately changed the name to Sennacherib as the great figure in Assyria's relation to Hezekiah. (4) One of the documents left by Sargon dates his campaign against Ashdod in the ninth year of his reign (713 B. C.); if to this be added the year of Hezekiah's reign given in this verse, the resultant is 727 B. C. But no one of these explanations is free of difficulties, and it is probably better to refer the verse, in spite of its puzzling mark of chronology, to the campaign of Sennacherib (701 B. C.).

Taking 2 Kings 18 : 13 as introductory to the whole account we discover in the next verse that Hezekiah was



Fig. 87. Sennacherib Receiving Captives at Lachish

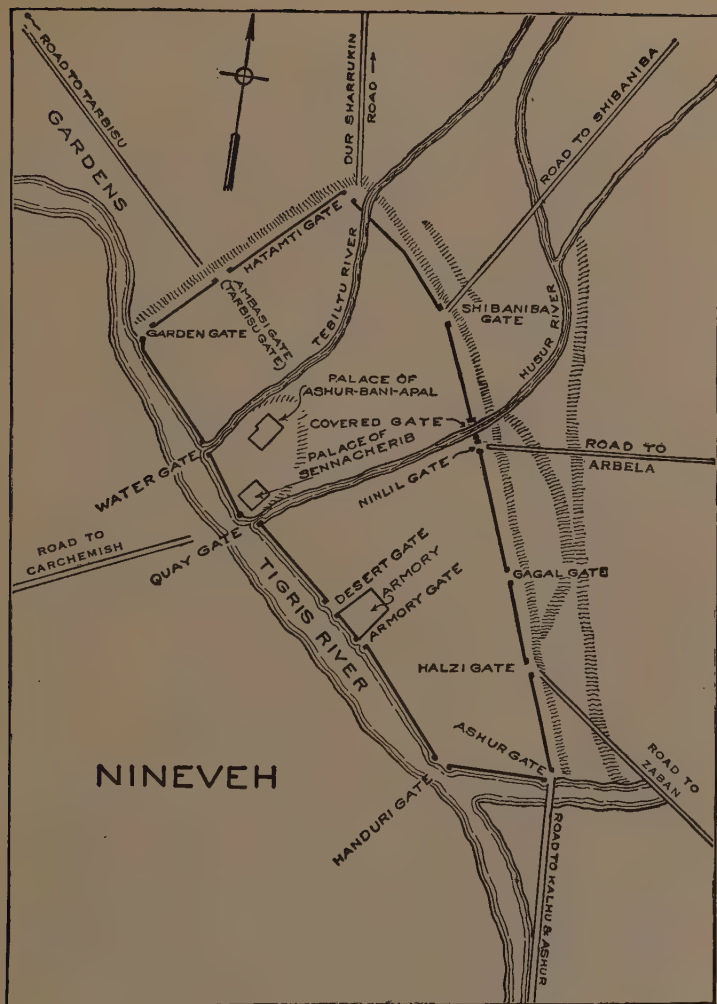
On an artistically designed throne, the victorious king sat and "caused the spoil of Lachish [Fig. 86] to pass before him." The officers of his army present the prisoners of the captured city, who come with humble obeisance to his feet; they include even the women and children (5224). The inscription before his face reads: (1) "Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, (2) seated himself on his throne, and the (3) prisoners of Lachish (4) marched before him." Over the tent behind the throne the inscription reads, "Tent of Sennacherib, king of Assyria." The royal chariot seems to wait below until this ceremony is completed, when the king will again return to his place on the car.

not tardy in attempting to avert the approaching disaster. The chronological order of this event is not certain, though it probably occurred early in Sennacherib's movements in Philistia. Hezekiah sent his embassy to the Assyrian king to Lachish saying: "I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me I will bear." The penalty was specified. Hezekiah, by emptying the treasuries of the temple and the king's house, and cutting off the gold-plate of the door-posts of the temple, sent thirty talents of gold and 300 talents of silver to indemnify Sennacherib. Instead of being satisfied with this enormous sum of money, the king of Assyria aspired to take possession of a city which could pour out on demand such a mass of precious metal. Accordingly he sent a detachment of his troops from Lachish to demand full surrender of the Judean capital (2 Kings 18 : 17). The Rabshakeh having asked for an audience with Judean representatives, three of Hezekiah's officers met him outside the city. The Assyrian general made a bold demand for immediate surrender. He ridiculed their confidence in Egypt, and scorned their trust in Jehovah, since the gods of no land had been able to stand before them. He discounted their own strength, and appealed directly to the people to give up their vain hope of successful resistance. Having spread consternation and sorrow in Jerusalem, the army withdrew to Philistia, and found that Lachish had already fallen, and Libnah was now under siege. At this time, it appears, a courier announced the approach of the Egyptian army. Sennachérîb now sent messengers with a letter to Hezekiah, affirming the utter futility of further resistance, as no gods had ever been

able to stand before Assyrian arms. The letter doubtless told of the helplessness of their Egyptian allies, and the certainty of their overthrow. Hezekiah was so perplexed that he resorted to the temple and spread the letter before Jehovah. As in the case of the first demand for surrender, the prophet Isaiah came to the rescue and held up the faith of the king, and pointed out that dire vengeance was on the track of the Assyrian robber, and that it would overtake his army, and finally murder him himself in his own land. The next statement after Isaiah's words to Hezekiah tells of the awful calamity that befell the Assyrian army. "And the angel of Jehovah went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand; and when men arose early in the morning, behold, these were all dead bodies" (Isa. 37 : 36). This is presumably supported also by another passage (Isa. 17 : 14): "At eventide behold, terror; and before the morning they are not. This is the portion of them that despoil us, and the lot of them that rob us."

**225. The
Two Records
Compared.**

Sennacherib's own record makes no mention of a disaster to his troops in the southwest. But several significant events seem to corroborate the Biblical narrative. In the first place, a tradition preserved in Herodotus (II, 141) relates that Sennacherib, "king of the Assyrians and the Arabians," led a great army against Egypt. This military move seems to have been subsequent to the subjugation of Philistia and Judea, and a final stroke to secure one of the ultimate objects of his expedition—the conquest of Egypt. The tradition states that the Egyptian army was made up of "traders, artisans and merchants,



Plan of Nineveh in Sennacherib's Day

Sennacherib was the first Assyrian king to make Nineveh the royal residence. He built fourteen gates for entrance into the city (§240) from different directions; and later made them fifteen. Besides his stupendous palace near the quay gate, he built an inner wall of hewn stone and an armory for the conservation of army material. The Tigris at that time ran close along outside the wall as above noted, but now its bed is considerably westward thereof.

and that in great fear they encamped at Pelusium, within range of the enemy." The enemy's camp was completely overrun by an army of field-mice, which gnawed apart all of their leather trappings, such as bow-strings, quivers, and shield-straps. On the next morning, with only fragments of weapons, the Assyrian troops were routed, put to flight, and many of them slain. This tradition has some basis, doubtless, in fact, and is an echo of some calamity to the Assyrian army. In the second place, Sennacherib's record, as given above (§221), gilds the termination of his campaign by giving the astonishing amount of booty turned over by Hezekiah, though the Biblical record locates such a gift at the time of the siege of Lachish, some time before the conclusion of his expedition while the army was still in Philistia. Again, there is a mystery hanging about the results of this vast campaign. Although Sennacherib subjugated the entire eastern coast-line of the Mediterranean Sea, and carried off countless booty, and levied tribute on the conquered cities and provinces, there is no hint in his records during the remaining twenty years of his reign that he ever again visited this territory. Nor does the Babylonian chronicler of this period mention any such campaign. It seems that some specter haunted his memory and chilled his ambition regarding the final conquest of Egypt. It is not our purpose to discuss the critical problems arising between the Kings and Isaiah accounts, for we do not believe that there is sufficient evidence at hand to show that Sennacherib made a second campaign to the west. This both simplifies and complicates the matter to the extent of compelling us to make the best possible use of the data at hand.



Fig. 96. Portrait of Merodach-baladan

He was a Chaldean of the Sealands who made trouble for two kings of Assyria. He had the habit of seizing the throne of Babylon, and of holding it (721-710; 703-2, three-quarters of a year) until a mightier lord appeared and drove him back to his swamps. Here he is making a grant of land to one of his officials. Over his head we find, "The portrait of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon."

Now we are enabled to see wherein the two records agree, and in what respects they may be dovetailed. Both agree (1) if we count in the pictures in the Ninevite palace, that Sennacherib laid siege to Lachish; (2) that Hezekiah, as a rebel, paid the same handsome indemnity to secure the favor of the king of Assyria, though differing as to the time of payment; (3) that Egypt was an ally of Judah, upon whom she leaned for support at this time; (4) by implication only, that some disaster suddenly cut short Sennacherib's campaign and conquests. The remaining statements of the two records vividly paint their own pictures. The remarkable thing is that the records so fully corroborate each other, that the Assyrian king and the compiler of Kings agree in so many particulars, and introduce so few difficulties.

226. Sennacherib's Tragic End. Sennacherib's reign was marked by many cruel, inhuman, and almost fiendish acts, such as the awful destruction of Babylon (689 B. C.), which returned in vengeance upon his own head. His death was a characteristic Oriental court tragedy. While worshiping at the shrine of his god Nisroch ("Nusku" in Assyrian), he was brutally assassinated by his two sons (2 Kings 19 : 37). The Babylonian chronicle speaks of only one as the assassin. This was the concluding act of an insurrection in Nineveh. Neither of these two guilty sons succeeded to the throne of their father. Though younger sons of the king they were hopeful that their deed would command general approval and win for one of them the throne of the empire. But, cruel as is man, justice always pronounces the final sentence.

**227. The
Siloam
Inscription.**

Many notable events marked Hezekiah's reign. His rebellion against the sovereignty of Sennacherib the king of Assyria was not undertaken without preparation. He had repaired the walls of the city, had secured its gates, and best of all had made sure a supply of fresh water within the walls. The one great flowing spring at Jerusalem, the Virgin's Fountain so called, was retained as long as possible for the to-be-beleagured population (2 Kings 20 : 20). To accomplish this task he had cut through solid rock under the hill Ophel a conduit more than 1,700 feet in length, to carry the water to the pool of Siloam. In 1880, a small boy (says the story) while paddling around in the water as it emerges from the tunnel to pour into the pool, slipped down, and as he got up he noticed some scratching on the side of the opening. This came to the ears of some archeologists in Jerusalem, and within a short time the writing was copied, translated, and published. It is written in a later dialect of the same type of the language of the Moabite stone, and is placed in time by the majority of scholars in Hezekiah's day. The translation of the somewhat broken inscription is as follows:

The piercing through. And this was the manner of the piercing through. While yet [the diggers were lifting up] the pick, each towards his fellow, and while yet there were three cubits to be cut [through, each heard] the voice of one calling to his fellow, for there was a crack (?) in the rock on the south. And on the day of the piercing through, the diggers struck pick against pick, one over against the other, and there flowed the water from the source of the pool, 1,200 cubits; and 100 cubits was the height of the rock over the heads of the diggers.

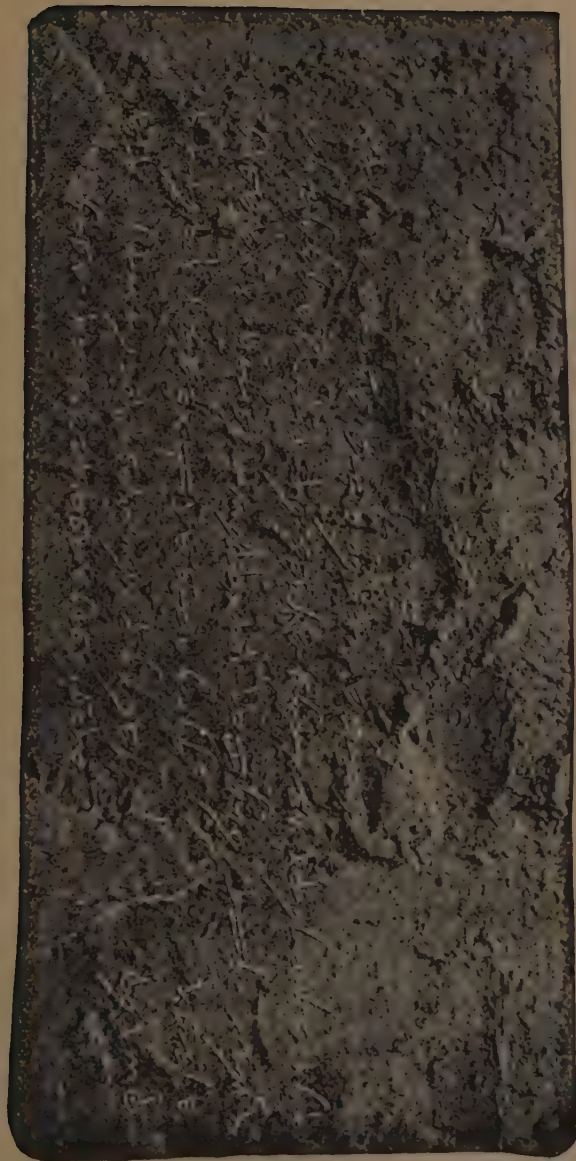
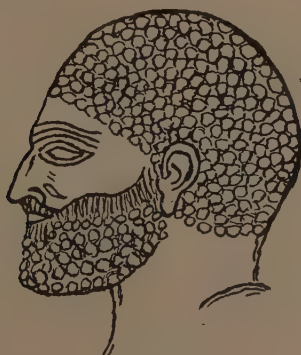


Fig. 145. The Siloam Inscription

Was cut in the side of the mouth of the conduit under the Hill Ophel (Fig. 109), that conveys the water from the Virgin's Fountain to the Pool of Siloam, to celebrate the completion of the tunnel (§227). Discovered in 1889, and found to be written in the Hebrew of Hezekiah's day. A Greek rascal cut out the inscription to sell it, but was punished for his perfidy. At last accounts it was in the royal museum at Constantinople.

This little inscription's message is simply that the diggers working from both ends met in the middle—quite a piece of engineering for that day—and when they cut out the intervening rock, the water flowed through from the Virgin's Fountain to the pool of Siloam, a distance of almost 1,800 feet, and the height of the rock over their heads was about 150 feet. The Parker expedition, just before the World War, cleaned out the accumulated debris in this conduit, and found that the tunnel is about six feet high throughout its entire length. This "pipe line" conveyed all the water from the fountain outside the walls—which at that time was covered up and hidden from the enemy—to the pool within the walls, where the population of the city could get all the water they needed. This inscription was in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople at the last word.

NOTE ON FIG. 82, tail-piece below: Sennacherib's victory at Lachish (Fig. 87) brought the Judeans before him in humility and obeisance. This is a "close-up" of one of the line of captives that appear in Fig. 87.





CHAPTER XXI

THE LAST CENTURY OF ASSYRIA AND THE DECLINE OF JUDAH

228. Esar- haddon's Accession and Begin- ning.

The death of Sennacherib and the accession of his son Esarhaddon marked the opening of a new era in the history of the Assyrian empire. The Biblical record (2 Kings 19 : 37) states that the assassins of Sennacherib "escaped into the land of Ararat. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead." This two-line notice covers a multitude of events. Fortunately, we have a brief inscription in the Babylonian chronicle that

NOTE ON FIG. 127, head-piece above: Ancient Samal, an impressive ruin lying on the edge of a plain and in the shelter of a mountain. To Von Luschan we are indebted for the revelations of this so-called Northern Judah (Jaudi) (§206), which at one time was a rival of Assyria for the command of the peoples of Syria.

gives us a fragmentary portraiture of the political situation:

In the month of Tebet (December, 681 B. C.), the twentieth day, Sennacherib king of Assyria, was slain by his son in an insurrection. [23] years Sennacherib administered the kingdom of Assyria. From the twentieth day of the month Tebet until the second day of the month Adar (February, 680), the insurrection prevailed in Assyria.



Fig. 23. Bar-Rékub of Samal

The Aramæan fortress of Samal (Fig. 128) was ruled over by a king Bar-Rekub in the seventh century B. C. Here sits the monarch on an elaborately carved throne, with a similar footstool. His secretary is apparently giving him a message, to which the king makes response. The secretary seems to carry implements for writing, maybe a papyrus roll and pen-and-ink outfit. Observe the ornament or symbol in the king's left hand, and that on the wall of the background.

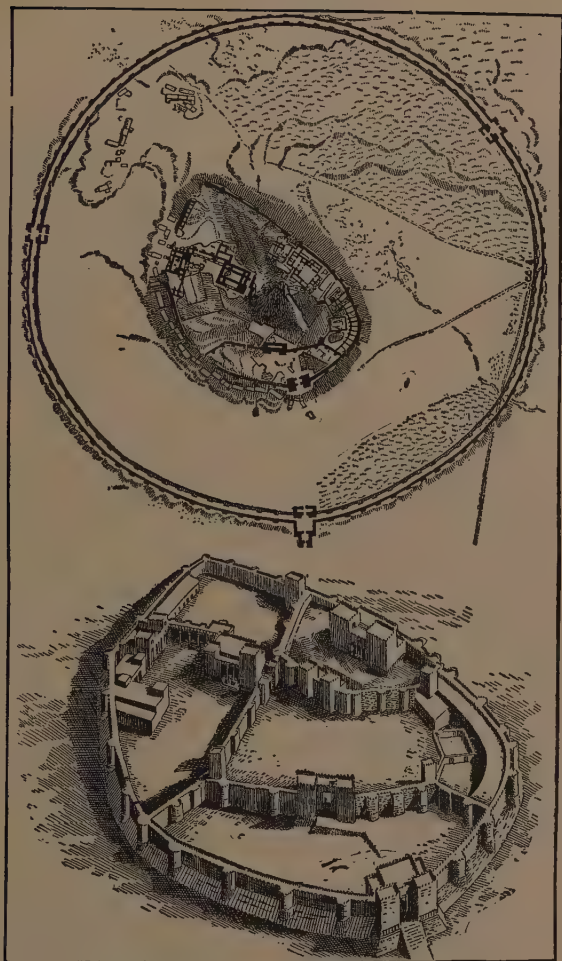
In the month Sivan (May, 680), the eighteenth day, Esarhaddon his son seated himself upon the throne in Assyria.

In an inscription of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, we read: "The son, his offspring, struck down with weapons the king of Assyria, who, while Marduk raged, had wrought destruction in the land." Esarhaddon in one of his records attributes the death of his father to his father's abuse of his office to such an extent that the gods refused longer to walk by his side. The power of the insurrection in Nineveh was broken at the end of one month and a half. But the new king, who was probably occupied in suppressing rebellious subjects outside of Nineveh, was not formally installed as king until five months after the murder of his father.

Esarhaddon inaugurated a new policy of administration and control. He sought to restore to prosperity the Babylon and the Babylonia which Sennacherib had so wantonly and cruelly laid waste and destroyed. He conciliated the population of that region by restoring to their former position the humiliated gods of Babylon. He lifted the royal city out of its wasteness and ruin, and made it the proud abode of Nebo and Marduk. He declared himself ruler of Babylon, but subordinate to these high deities. His popular policy elevated him at once in the estimation of the people, and gave him almost undisputed command of this territory.

His next move (678 B. C.) was toward the Westland. Phœnicia was the first to feel his power, and readily yielded, except the island city, Tyre. He describes his activities in picturesque terms:¹

¹ Prism A, col. I, 10ff.



From Breasted, *Ancient Times*; courtesy of Ginn & Co.

Fig. 128. Restored Fortress of Samal

Situated about midway between the Mediterranean Sea and the Euphrates, Samal was one of the great Aramaic centers of the world. It was almost a half-mile across; was surrounded by a nearly circular wall, reinforced by one hundred towers, fifty feet apart, and pierced by three gates. In the center was the citadel of the king, heavily guarded by walls and battlements. The citizenry lived in sun-dried brick houses all about the citadel within the great wall. Hittite and Egyptian influence appear in all its sculpture and art (§58).

[Esarhaddon], conqueror of the city Sidon, which is in the midst of the sea; who overthrew all its residences; its walls, its dwellings I tore down, cast them into the midst of the sea, and made their location a ruin. Abdi-milkut its king, who had fled into the midst of the sea before my arms, I drew him like a fish out of the sea and cut off his head. His treasures and effects, gold, silver, precious stones, elephant hide, ivory, *ushu*-wood, *ukarinnu*-wood, variegated cloth, all kinds of cloth, valuables of his palace, I plundered *en masse*; its people without number, cattle and sheep, asses, I carried away to Assyria. I collected the kings of the Hittite country, and of the seacoast all of them. . . The people, the spoil of my bow, from the hill-country and from the eastern sea, I settled there; my officers as governors I set over them.

Phoenicia and the adjoining peoples bore the brunt of this campaign; into the depopulated territory of Phoenicia and northern Syria Esarhaddon imported and settled foreign peoples. No resistance of any kind seems to have interfered with his southward march, until he reached the Arabian desert. Here he spent presumably two years (675-674 B. C.) in the subjugation of Arab tribes east and southeast of the Gulf of Akaba, and in the Sinaitic peninsula. These conquests cut off from Egypt all supplies and allies from their eastern friends and dependencies, and made Esarhaddon master of all the eastern roads to Egypt.

**229. Esar-
haddon
Conquers
Egypt.**

The Babylonian chronicle mentions two expeditions of this king into the Nile-land. The first occurred in 673 B. C. without, apparently, any secure results. The second took place in 670: "In the tenth year in the month Nisan the troops of Assyria marched against Egypt." The same Ethiopian king of the twenty-fifth dynasty, Tirhakah, who met Sennacherib (in 701 B. C.)



Fig. 49. Esarhaddon and Ramses II Side by Side at Dog River

Cut into the rocky mountainside near the mouth of Dog River where it empties in the Mediterranean Sea, seven and one-half miles northeast of Beirut, are the vanishing portraits and inscriptions of Egyptian and Assyrian monarchs. Esarhaddon is on the left, commemorating his conquest of Egypt (670 B. C.), and Ramses II on the right, celebrating his conquest of Syria (about 1240 B. C.).

at Eltekeh, was on the throne. Several successive battles were fought. The Egyptians, though constantly retreating, presented a checking resistance. At last Memphis was reached, and fell after a half-day's siege. As a warning and a terror to their antagonists, the Assyrians plundered and destroyed this old capital. Tirhakah fled to Ethiopia, his native land, while all Egypt now laid down arms before the indomitable Esarhaddon. The dream of former Assyrian monarchs had materialized. Egypt now became an Assyrian province, administered by Assyrian officers. Esarhaddon's only regret was that Tyre could not be taken. On its island rock it stood out alone in open defiance of the new world-conqueror.

**230. Esar-
haddon's
Canaan-
Syrian
Subjects.**

This new victor, though king less than thirteen years (681-668 B. C.) surpassed the record of all his predecessors. He numbered among his subjects the most cultured nations of that day. The ruling king of Judah was Manasseh, whose record is such a blot on the story of the kings of Israel. His allegiance to Assyria was undoubtedly avowed on the first appearance of Esarhaddon before the Phœnician cities. Esarhaddon's own story of his demands of his twenty-two western royal subjects has been found detailed on Prism B (col. V, 12ff.):

I demanded of the kings of the Hittite country, and of those beyond the sea, of Baal king of Tyre, of Manasseh king of Judah, Kaushgabri of Edom, Musuri king of Moab, Sillibaal king of Gaza, Mitinti king of Ashkelon, Ikausu king of Ekron, Mílki-ashapa king of Byblos, Matan-baal king of Arvad, Abibaal king of Samsi-muruna, Puduel king of Beth-Ammon, Ahimelech king of Ashdod—twelve kings of the sea-coast; Ekishtura king of Idalium, Pilagura

king of Kitrusi, Kisu king of Sillua, Ituandar king of Paphos, Eresu king of Sillu, Damasu king of Kuri, Atmezu king of Tamesu, Damusu king of Karti-khadasti, Unasa-gusu king of Lidir, Bususu king of Nurenu—ten kings of Cyprus, in the midst of the sea—in all twenty-two kings of the Hittite country, of the seacoast and of the midst of the sea—of them all I demanded great beams, timber

of cedar and cypress, from the Sirara and Lebanon mountains, female *lamassu*, giant colossi (?), stone thresholds, slabs of alabaster, flag-stones . . . they brought from the mountains, where they were found, with difficulty and labor to Nineveh for my palace.



Fig. 162. Tirhakah, King of Egypt-Ethiopia

The Ethiopian Pharaoh of Egypt, last king of the twenty-fifth dynasty. As a general he probably met Sennacherib at Eltekeh (§221), and as Pharaoh in 670 B. C. temporarily he recaptured Memphis from Esarhaddon.

This is a most enlightening list of the subject kings of Esarhaddon in this Westland. They embrace the names of ten kings on the island of Cyprus, all under the sovereignty of the Assyrian empire. Among the twenty-two we find Manasseh of Judah with his neighbors, including four of the former five Philistine strongholds whose rulers had been the coterie of rebels in so many earlier periods of foreign domination, of both Assyria and Egypt. Esarhad-

don's supremacy continued in this territory, and probably over the ten cities in Cyprus, until his untimely death in 668 B. C. while on another expedition to his rich and valuable province, Egypt.

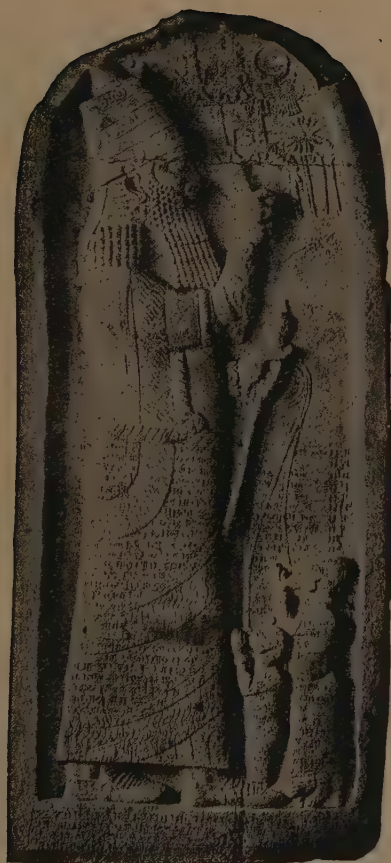


Fig. 48. Portrait of Esarhaddon

Found in the ruins of Samal, this portrait has especial importance. Esarhaddon's conquests of the Westland (§230) embraced also Egypt (§229). The king holds in his right hand a libation vase, and in his left hand a scepter and a leash which is fastened to hooks that pass through the lips of Baal king of Tyre, the larger figure, and the smaller, Tirhakah (2 Kings 19 : 9) (Ethiopian) king of Egypt (688-663 B. C.). Notice the gods symbolized just before his face.

This figure was set up at Samal (Sinjerli) in 670 B. C.

231. Ashurbanipal In and Out of Egypt.

Esarhaddon's son, Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.), was his successor on the throne of Assyria. His first campaign was made to quell the uprisings instigated by Tirhakah in his province on the Nile. This expedition was apparently wholly successful. Tirhakah's troops were routed, and the country reconquered as far as Thebes. Upon the withdrawal of the main Assyrian army, malcontents arose in the Delta and plotted rebellion, but were duly suppressed, slain with barbarous cruelty, and their leaders carried to Nineveh. The disaffected, however, could not be satisfied. Another open rebellion broke out, which required for its arrest the presence of the main Ninevite army. This second campaign was conducted with terrific celerity and severity. The rebels retreated in hot haste to the south, to Thebes. At the approach of the Assyrians they fled up the Nile. Thebes was mercilessly pillaged, and the Egyptian army pursued and defeated at Kipkip, the capital of Nubia (662 B. C.). This completed the subjugation of all Egypt, and the Assyrian army, loaded with trophies, returned to its capital, Nineveh. The next few years saw the Assyrian power honeycombed and on the wane. With the rise of Psamtik I, strengthened by a force of voluntary allies, Assyria was obliged to relinquish her claims on Egypt. Isaiah 19 is a rough sketch of the Assyrian domination of this old civilization.

232. Ashurbanipal in Phœnicia.

Ashurbanipal has left us an abundance of inscriptions to tell the story of his military campaigns: ²

² *V Rawl.*, 2, 49f.; 9, 115f.

In my third campaign I marched against Baal king of Tyre, who dwelt in the midst of the sea. Because he had not kept the word of my lordship, nor paid attention to the words of my lips, I erected against him siege-works and cut off his exit by land and by sea; their lives I narrowed and restricted—I made them bow under my yoke. His own daughter and the daughters of his brothers he brought to me to be my concubines. Yahi-milki, his son, who had never crossed the sea, they brought at the same time to be my servant. His daughter and the daughters of his brothers with a bountiful dowry I received from him. I granted him favor and returned to him his own son. Yakinlu king of Arvad, who dwells in the midst of the sea, who had not submitted to the kings my fathers, I put under my yoke. He brought his daughter with a bountiful dowry to Nineveh and kissed my feet. . . .

On my return I plundered Ushu, [whose dwelling] was on the coast of the sea. The people of Ushu, who had not obeyed their governor, had not paid their tribute, I slew as the tribute of their land. Among the rebellious peoples I set up my court. Their gods and people I carried as plunder to Assyria. The people of Accho who had not submitted I slew. I impaled their bodies on stakes around the city. The remainder of them I took to Assyria; I assembled them in companies, and added them to my numerous troops which Ashur had given me.

Ashurbanipal had problems enough in the East to occupy his whole time. His own brother as a vassal on the throne of Babylon had long dreamed of a kingdom all his own. Early in his reign he had planned to achieve just this thing. But the close attention required of the Ninevite king to the details of the administration of Babylon, as well as to the government of neighboring provinces, furnished no opportune moment for such a rebellious stroke. The barbarity, too, which was visited upon rebel officers served to check any move which might attempt to throw off Ashurbanipal's authority. But

**233. Ashurbanipal
Stamps Out
Rebellion in
Babylonia.**



Fig. 10. Ashurbanipal Carrying Offerings

The last great king of Assyria (§233) on his capture of Babylon in 648 B. C. announced himself "King of Babylon," and restored Esagila, the temple of Marduk. He is here pictured as a high priest or cane phorus, making his offerings to the supreme deity of the city who has given him his victory over his rebellious brother.

the brother's time came and his long-laid schemes were brought to fruition. The entire southern and south-western provincial dependencies of Assyria struck for freedom and independence, probably with the king's brother Shamash-shum-ukin (=Shamash has established a name), as their leader. Ashurbanipal presented his side of the case in the following statement:³

But he, Shamash-shum-ukin, the unfaithful brother, who had not kept his covenant with me, led astray the people of Akkad, the Chaldeans, the Aramæans, the people of the Sea-lands from Akaba to Bab-Salimeti, my servants and subjects, to rebel against me; and Ummanigash, the fugitive, who had embraced my royal feet, whom I had set on the throne of Elam, and the kings of Guti, of the West-land, of Melukhkha, whom I had installed by the warrant of Ashur and Belit—all of these he set at enmity against me, and they made common cause with him. The gates of Sippar, Babylon, and Borsippa he barred, and cancelled the bond of brotherhood.

This wide-spread revolt was charged directly to the aspiring and ungrateful brother on the throne of Babylon. The army of Assyria promptly sensed the situation, and vigorously struck at Babylonia, the head of the rebellion. The rebels were repulsed in battle after battle, and the territory of Babylonia was so foraged and pillaged as to cut off the resources of the rebel headquarters. The heavily walled cities of Sippar, Cutha, and Borsippa fell before the intrepid warriors of Nineveh. The capital city in which the rebel brother resided was finally forced to yield. The generally known barbarities visited upon rebels in other captured cities led Shamash-shum-ukin to withdraw into his own palace and apply the torch to his own funeral pyre (as Zimri of northern Israel had done, 1 Kings 16 :

³ *Rassam Cyl.*, col. 3, 96-108.

18). This put an end to the devastation of the country and the cities of Babylonia. Ashurbanipal then became undisputed king of Babylon (in 648 B. C.) The permanence of his authority, however, was not assured until he had scourged Elam and plundered the rich treasures of its capital city, Susa, described in his seventh and eighth campaigns.

**234. Ashurbanipal's
Drive at the
Western
Rebels.**

The record of Ashurbanipal mentions, as other parties to the revolt, certain peoples of the Westland. Just how valuable they were to the designs of the leader is not apparent. Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, however, had emphasized the importance of their conquests in Arabia and Melukhkha (that is, perhaps, the Sinaitic peninsula). Even the battle of the allies against Shalmaneser III at Karkar (854 B. C.) had a detachment of Arabian troops. We even find in Ashurbanipal's reports that a certain Arab chief on the east of Canaan, Yatha-ben-Hazael, had sent two of his chiefs with a troop of cavalry to assist in the Babylonian uprising. Of all the peoples of Canaan, none was of more importance as allies than Judah, with their strongly fortified capital, Jerusalem. The king now on the throne was Manasseh, a former vassal of Esarhaddon (§230). From all the statements and hints in the cuneiform records, from the general political condition of this Westland, Manasseh was probably involved in this rebellion against the king of Assyria.

This western branch of the uprising occupied the next attention of Ashurbanipal. To meet the conditions promptly and decisively, the Assyrian army made one of



Fig. 92. Head of Man-headed Winged Bull

This colossal head dates from the time of Esarhaddon (681-668 B. C.) and may be the face of that ruler. The figure is composed of the strong face of a man, wearing on the head the horns of a bull, and on the shoulders the feathers of an eagle. It reminds one of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. chap. 1).

the most remarkable marches recorded in all Oriental history. To save time, and to avoid the publicity necessitated by a march over the regular caravan routes, and to strike the rebels unawares, the army crossed the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and plunged westward across the Syro-Arabian desert. This daring feat permitted them to strike suddenly and victoriously the peoples of Nebai-

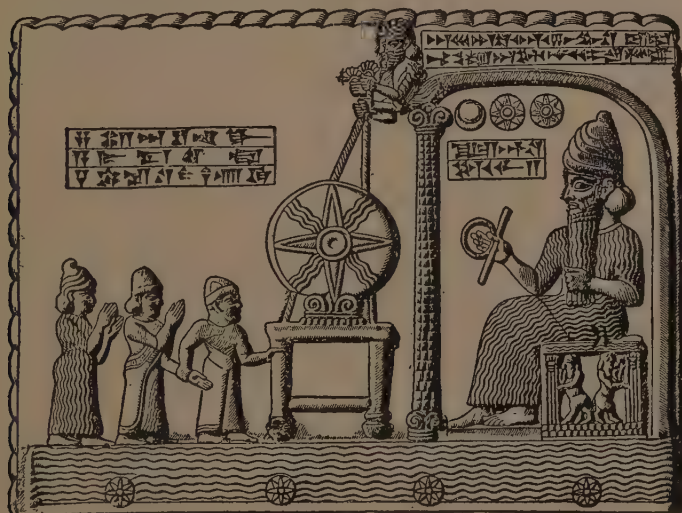


Fig. 142. Shamash the Sun-god in Sippar

In his shrine, or most holy place, sits Shamash the sun-god, on a carved throne. Before his eyes there is written, "Tiara of Shamash, exalted of eyes." Over this are the symbols of the Sun, the Planet Venus, and the Moon. The first line of the inscription over the shrine reads, "Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar, who dwell in the deep." Before the shrine is the solar disk, resting on a table and attached by cords to the two figures on the edge of the canopy of the shrine. Apparently a priest is presenting a king to the god, and a third person holds up his hand in petition. Rassam found this in an earthenware casket at Sippar.

oth and their allies, whom they carried captive to Damascus. In quick succession the Assyrians chastised and plundered all the rebels, carrying multitudes of them into

captivity. The host of cattle and camels driven to Nineveh was so great, according to the statements of Ashurbanipal's recorders, that it filled all the land.

235. Ashurbanipal Captures and Releases Manasseh. That Manasseh had been tributary to Ashurbanipal is attested by the fact that we find "Manasseh king of Judah" in a list of twenty-two of his vassal kings in the West-land. It is identical with that of Esarhad-don's (§230) except in two instances, viz., Jakinlu is king of Arvad, and Amminadab is king of Beth-Ammon. In 2 Chronicles 33 : 10-13 we read:

And Jehovah spake to Manasseh, and to his people; but they gave no heed. Wherefore Jehovah brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, who took Manasseh in chains, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon. And when he was in distress, he besought Jehovah his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers. And he prayed unto him; and he was entreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom.

The raid of the Assyrian officers is here charged to the heedlessness of Manasseh to the injunctions of Jehovah. Doubtless the prophets had warned him against taking any part in the rebellion just recited. It is suggested that he may not have gone farther than to confer with the powerful Arab tribes regarding such an attempt as was made to throw off Assyria's yoke. At any rate, he was seized and carried in true Assyrian fashion to Babylon, of which Ashurbanipal had just announced himself king (648 B. C.). The Chronicles record states that upon repentance he was restored to the throne. This is entirely probable, since we know that this same Assyrian king Ashurbanipal had carried captive to Nineveh a certain

Egyptian rebel, Necho, and after his duly sworn fealty, restored him to his former seat of power. It is of no consequence that this incident is not mentioned in the Assyrian annals. It was only of minor importance in the affairs of the conqueror, and merited no notice at the hands of the great Assyrian recorder.

236. Ashurbanipal Disappears.

It is quite beyond our purpose and impossible to follow Ashurbanipal to the end of his career. He had now lost Egypt, but had succeeded in putting down the rebellion which had involved all of his southern and southwestern possessions. The northern peoples, east and west, had also achieved their independence, leaving to Assyria merely the great valley of the two rivers and the Westland. The compactness of this realm gave him an opportunity so to organize his government as to insure its permanence. But this he failed to do. Peace was maintained only by the presence of Assyrian troops. His annals and other records do not carry us farther down in his career than 637 B. C., about eleven or twelve years before the date (626 B. C.) of his death. We know that he turned the activities of his latter years largely into literary pursuits. He founded and filled a vast library of cuneiform texts written on clay tablets, with copies of the most valuable ancient documents. These were prepared by a company of expert scribes who traveled from city to city in Babylonia, selecting and copying the choicest pieces of literature. To Ashurbanipal's energy in this line are we indebted for the creation and deluge tablets discovered at Nineveh (§§79, 88), and a treasure of mythical, legendary, religious, and historical texts.

The last days of this king are wrapped in obscurity, an obscurity that omens disaster to his great empire, that teems with visions of rising kings and vengeful armies, seeking to blot out the perpetual enemy of their freedom.

237. Southwestern Asia, according to Herodotus, suffered a calamity in this period. Hardy Scythian mountaineers of the northeast, under the name of Scythians, rolled in waves of invasion down across the mountains of Armenia, the upper plains of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, until bought off on the borders of Egypt. They are described as uncleanly, wandering hordes who rode on horses, lived in rude wagons or in tents, and subsisted on mares' milk and cheese, with an occasional diet of meat. In battle they were more cruel than a warring Indian. They drank the blood of their victims, hung their scalps as trophies on their bridle reins, and used the tops of their skulls for drinking-cups. Their weapons were bow and arrow, a short spear, and short sword. They foraged the country, plundered and destroyed settlements and villages, and even encountered and defeated strongly armed troops. The ominous silence of all other known records than those of Herodotus leaves us in doubt as to just when or how long these incursions took place. Herodotus' "twenty-eight years" can scarcely be correct, though the whole period from their first appearance on the Median frontier to their final recession into their mountain steppes of the north may have occupied that much time. The dates of those "twenty-eight years" may have extended from 640 to 612 B. C., the date of the fall of Nineveh.

If now those Scythian hordes swept across north-

western and western Assyria, with the direful results pictured by Herodotus, we can see the probable effect on the Assyrian provinces. This great empire would lose its western dependencies and draw its outer lines of supremacy nearer its capital. Jeremiah (chaps. 5 and 6) is thought by some interpreters to have had in mind the invasions of these mountain brigands, and Ezekiel (chap. 38) has not forgotten the devastation wrought by their raids. But the whole story needs the corroboration of contemporaneous evidence before we can safely lean on its representations.

238. Nabopolassar to the Front. Under the shadows of a declining power Ashurbanipal apparently died in 626 B. C. His successor on the throne was

Ashur-etil-ilani, about whom we know little.

In the next year, 625 B. C., Nabopolassar, a Chaldæan, became viceroy of Babylon. This descendant of the irrepressible Merodach-baladans of former days soon began to lay his plans for achieving independence. The repeated disasters which had fallen upon the revolutionary attempts of his ancestors taught him to move cautiously. An unexpected and welcome light has broken into the darkness of this period within the past year. Mr. C. J. Gadd, an assistant in the department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, London, found among the mass of unread cuneiform tablets of the Museum one broken tablet of a chronicle. If complete it would consist of seventy-five lines of text, devoted to eight years (616-609 B. C.), but its breaks are so considerable that they reduce its real value to that period. The Chronicle begins with the tenth year of Nabopolassar,

here called "the king of Akkad," that is, North Babylonia. Either he had been assigned to the regency of Babylon by the new king of Assyria in 625 B. C., or he had seized control of that city and province. At least, when the Chronicle opens in 616 B. C., he is master of the situation about Babylon. In that year in the month Airu, he mustered his troops and campaigned up along the eastern banks of the Euphrates to two Aramæan districts, Sukhu and Khindanu, which submitted without a stroke. His advance was finally checked, and obviously turned to a retreat, by the appearance of "the army of Egypt and the army of Assyria." Note, that Egypt and Assyria were allies against Nabopolassar. The next year (615 B. C.) Nabopolassar was unsuccessful in an attack on the old city Ashur. In his twelfth year (614 B. C.) the Medes came down from their mountain fastnesses against Nineveh. Unable to take it, they went on down the Tigris river and assaulted Ashur, the old capital of Assyria, which they seem to have captured. Nabopolassar came to their aid but too late to share the victory. The fragmentary text seems to indicate that Cyaxares of the Medes and Nabopolassar here met face to face, and "friendship and alliance they established together."

239. **Fall of** The events of the fourteenth year of Nabopolassar (612 B. C.) are described in fifteen
 Nineveh, broken lines of text. The import of the
 612 B. C. lines seem to be that the combined armies of Nabopolassar and the Medes assaulted, captured, and destroyed Nineveh, and that the king (Sin-shar-ishkun) disappeared, and that in Harran in northwestern Mesopotamia, a new king of Assyria, Ashur-uballit, was made

king. This item sets the date for the fall of Nineveh at 612 B. C. (instead of 606 B. C. as formerly thought).

In the sixteenth year (610 B. C.), Nabopolassar and the Medes, who had crushed Nineveh in 612 B. C., now united their forces to attack Harran, the western capital of Assyria. The Chronicle credits them with success, but the Assyrian army escaped across the Euphrates. In the spring of the next year (609 B. C.), the rejuvenated Assyrians with Ashur-uballit, their king, and a great army of Egyptians crossed the Euphrates eastward, and marched upon Harran held by a Babylonian garrison. The fragments of the text tell us that Nabopolassar came to the aid of his troops, that a battle followed, whose outcome is lost in the broken spaces of the tablet. It looks ominous for Babylon, for Nabopolassar returned to his land.

This historically important document settles for us several questions: (1) The names and order of the last kings of the waning Assyrian empire; (a) Ashur-etil-ilani (626-622 B. C.); (b) Sin-shar-iskun (620-612 B. C.), and Ashur-uballit (612-605 B. C.). (2) Nabopolassar was not a subject of Assyria through practically his twenty-one years of reign. Nor was he an ally of the Assyrians, but was attacking them in 616 B. C. while he was "king of Akkad." (3) Assyria and Egypt (Assyria's former subject) were effective military allies, at least during the period of this Chronicle, in the territory of northwestern Mesopotamia. (4) The formal alliance between the Babylonians and the Medes was concluded after the fall of Ashur in 614 B. C. (5) Nineveh and its neighboring cities probably fell in 612 B. C., after which Assyria's struggle for existence was transferred to

northwestern Mesopotamia. (6) The final collapse of the Assyrian empire was not, as formerly supposed, the fall of Nineveh, but was probably the overthrow of the combined armies of Egypt and Assyria at Carchemish in 605 B. C. by the allies that destroyed Nineveh in 612.

This new date for the fall of Nineveh presents no insoluble difficulties in the interpretation of the historical and prophetic narratives of the Old Testament.

240. Nineveh.

Our story would not be complete without a sketch of Nineveh as she was during the last century of the Assyrian empire. Nineveh's founding was attributed to Nimrod (Gen. 10 : 11) in the Table of Nations. She was a relatively small city until the reign of Sennacherib (705-681 B. C.). He was the real creator of Nineveh's character. The form of the city on the immediate left or east bank of the Tigris river, was almost wedge-shaped, the thick end of the wedge lying towards the northwest and the thin end towards the southeast (Plan, p. 323). Flowing across the northern half of the wedge and emptying into the Tigris were two small streams, the Tebiltu and the Khusur. Sennacherib increased the city's area from 9,300 cubits, to about 22,000 cubits in circumference, said to be two-thirds the size of Rome within the Aurelian wall. The city was beautified by parks and avenues, supplied by an elaborate water system and protected by a wall forty cubits thick and one hundred and eighty *tipki* high, and a moat. It was made accessible to the surrounding and distant country by fifteen marvelous city gates, each with a name and a maxim. The gates were: At the southeast point of the wedge (1) the Gate of Ashur of the city of Ashur, "May the repre-

sentative of Ashur be strong "; next north was (2) the Gate of Sennacherib of the land of Khalzi, "that overwhelms all foes "; proceeding northward, (3) the Gate of Shamash of the land of Gagal, "Enlil who established my rule "; (4) the Gate of Ninlil of the city of Kar-Ninlil, "of Sennacherib . . . establish thou his rule "; (5) the Covered Gate, "that causes the flesh of the Ashakku demon (?) to go forth " (leper's gate?); (6) Gate of the city of Shabaniba, "The choicest of grain and stores (?) are ever within it " (market-gate?); (7) Gate of the land of Khatamkhi, "that brings in the produce of the highlands"—all seven gates on the side facing the sunrise and south. (8) Gate of Adad of fertility, "Adad, who bestows abundance on the land "; (9) Gate of Nergal of the city of Tarbisu, "Urta who overthrows my foes "; (10) Gate of Sin, "Nannar who guards my royal diadem"—all three gates facing the north. (11) Gate of the watering-places, "Ea who directs my springs "; (12) The Quay-Gate, "that brings the tribute of the peoples " (in boats); (13) Gate of the land of Bari, "the presents of Sumuan and Teme "; (14) Gate of the Armory, "that provides for all "; (15) Gate of Khanduri, "Sharur, who overthrows the king's foe"—all five gates facing the west, the Tigris river. Then Sennacherib says, "I constructed an outer wall and made it high like a mountain."

But the prize of all his constructions was his superb palace within the walls, which was intended to surpass those of all his predecessors. His son Esarhaddon and his grandson Ashurbanipal each contributed enormously by their palace buildings to the magnificence of this royal capital residence.

Nineveh was more than a rival of the large cities of Babylonia during this last century of its existence. But the degeneration of Nineveh's power and the rise of strong rivals determined her fate, and finally crushed her to earth, in 612 B. C.

241. Nineveh and Assyria in the Prophets.

We cannot forget the prophets of the Old Testament and their attitude toward the proud Assyrian. Isaiah (5 : 25-29 and elsewhere), Nahum, Zephaniah, and others have left us a composite portrait of the daring Assyrian, and, as far as it goes, as true to life as that painted by the monarch's own artists. Zephaniah describes the punishment (2 : 13-15) that will be meted out to Assyria and its capital:

And he will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria, and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like the wilderness. And herds shall lie down in the midst of her, all beasts of the nations; both the pelican and the porcupine shall lodge in the capitals thereof: their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds: for he hath laid bare the cedar-work. This is the joyous city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none besides me: how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! Every one that passeth by her shall hiss, and wag his hand.

Zephaniah's picture is wonderfully true to the fate that overtook Nineveh.

Nahum is the prophet-artist who gives us the most shocking and heart-sickening picture of the final tragedy of Assyria. The vividness and detail, descriptive of methods of defense, of the movements of the army in the streets, and of numerous other data, mark this as the work of an eye-witness, or of one very familiar with life

in the capital. We see the dash of the enemy, with his glittering and bounding chariots, and flashing weapons, and prancing horses, as the walls are stormed. The attackers prepared a protection over their heads as they came close to the walls (Nahum 2 : 5). But by some means or other, possibly, as sometimes suggested, by the rising and roaring river, the walls were undermined and the river-gates carried away—though this is tradition. “The palace is dissolved.” May it not have been that, like Zimri in Tirzah (1 Kings 16 : 18), or Shamashshum-ukin in Babylon (§233), the king of Assyria, seeing his dread fate so near at hand, preferred to perish in the burnings of his own palace, than by the merciless tortures of an angry foe? The bloody combat and noisy confusion in the streets result (Nahum 3 : 3) in “a multitude of slain, and a great heap of corpses, and there is no end of the bodies; they stumble upon their bodies.” “Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store, the glory of all goodly furniture” (Nahum 2 : 9) gathered from the ends of the earth.

“She is empty, and void, and waste; and the heart melteth, and the knees smite together, and anguish is in all loins, and the faces of them all are waxed pale” (Nahum 2 : 10). The looker-on is terror-stricken, horrified, unnerved and faint at the awful doom of the proud city.

Where is the den of the lions, and the feeding-place of the young lions, where the lion and the lioness walked, the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid? The lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his caves with prey, and his dens with ravin (Nahum 2 : 11, 12).

The nation that roared like a lion (Isa. 5 : 29), whose chief sport was hunting and slaying lions, and whose ravages were most fittingly compared with those of lions, suddenly disappeared, and forever. With Nahum's final words (3 : 18, 19), we close the chapter :

Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria ; thy nobles are at rest ; thy people are scattered upon the mountains, and there is none to gather them. There is no assuaging of thy hurt ; thy wound is grievous : all that hear the report of thee clap their hands over thee ; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually ?

NOTE ON FIG. 11 (=Fig. 90), tail-piece below: Ashurbanipal was the lion-hunter monarch of Assyria. It was his chief sport. The royal chariot carries four people, king, charioteer, and two attendants or lion-fighters. The steeds, probably mules, rush ahead at full speed, while the king and attendants shoot or spear the attacking animals. A dead lioness lies behind the chariot while her mate springs at the king only to be speared by his aids.





CHAPTER XXII

NEBUCHADREZZAR II AND THE HEBREW EXILES

242. Assyrian Capital at Harran.

The new Babylonian empire arose on the ruins of Assyria. But the international relations that culminated in the supremacy of the Chaldæan or New Babylonian empire have been newly revealed by the "Nabopolassar Chronicle" already described (§239). Assyria and Egypt, formerly enemies, were allies against Babylon, and later against the combined armies of Babylon and the Medes. Nineveh was wiped out in 612 B. C., and the Assyrian

NOTE ON FIG. 103, head-piece above: Nebuchadrezzar's records preserve us no portrait of the monarch. This cameo was obviously prepared under Greek auspices, at a much later date, but its inscription is plainly legible as the name of this ruler, the greatest in the New Babylonian empire (§§246-8). It reads: "To Marduk, his lord, Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, for his life has given this."

capital was transferred to Harran in northwestern Mesopotamia. As its ally we find a formidable Egyptian army, later under Necho, the new king of Egypt. Josiah's foolhardy attempt to hold back the Egyptian army at the pass of Megiddo resulted disastrously for himself and the little kingdom of Judah (2 Kings 23 : 29f.). Egypt with Assyria dominated all the Harran district and the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea.

243. Battle of Carchemish. In 605 B. C., the armies of Egypt and probably the remnant of Assyria met the Babylonian army under Nebuchadrezzar near Carchemish to decide the question of the

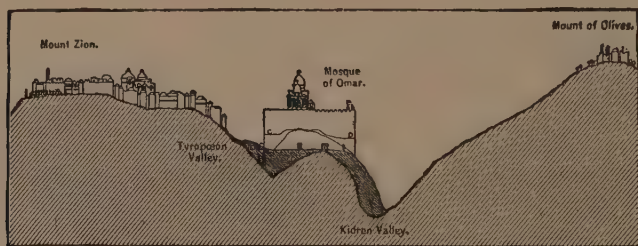
supremacy of southwestern Asia. The allied forces of Egypt and Assyria were defeated (cf. Jer. 46) and Necho with his army was forced to retreat to the land of the Nile. The book of 2 Kings does not describe, but merely refers (24 : 7) to the results of this battle. It says (24 : 1) : "In his [Jehoiakim's] days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years: then he turned and rebelled against him." What was the date of this occurrence? It is probable in the absence of positive information, that Nebuchadrezzar smote and routed the allied armies and then retired at once to Babylon to secure himself on the throne. It is indeed rather probable that, while he hastened back to Babylon, he would send the main army in pursuit of the Egyptians, to secure the allegiance of the neighboring peoples of the Westland. Jehoiakim, a sworn vassal of Egypt (2 Kings 23 : 34) would fall naturally under the sway of the new conqueror. Neither is it beyond the range of possibility that this raid of Palestine yielded such fruits

of victory as are recorded in Daniel 1 : 1. The difference of one year between the dates of Jeremiah 25 : 1 and Daniel 1 : 1, taking account of the possibility of different chronological methods, is of no consequence except to furnish a basis for an argumentative disagreement. If then part of the Babylonian army made a fast pursuit of Necho towards Egypt and secured sovereignty over these western peoples, we have in 605 B. C. a beginning of a captivity of the Jews in Babylon.

244. **Jehoiakim Despatched.** It is not our purpose to present in full the Biblical record of Judah's decline and fall, but to give only so much of it as will dovetail with the record and movements of the

Babylonian empire. Nebuchadrezzar's presence and army seem to have been demanded for the next several years in Babylonia. Possibly on account of some secret intrigues with Egypt, his former master, Jehoiakim's allegiance to Babylon was broken off at the end of three years (about 601 B. C.). The Chaldean garrisons located at various strategical points, together with small bodies or bands of Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, harassed him on every side, to force him back into his former allegiance. At the end of three or four years (about 597 B. C.) of such border or random raids, Nebuchadrezzar himself led his main army into the Westland. The Old Testament records give few details of this expedition. Jerusalem itself was visited, and the rebellious king despatched. The chronicler (2 Chron. 36 : 6) states that he was bound in fetters to be carried to Babylon. The compiler of Kings draws a veil over his disappearance. Jeremiah, in view of Jehoiakim's deceitful, in-

triguing character, prophecies (36 : 30) that "his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost;" also (22 : 19) that "he shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." It is not inconceivable that all the records are true; that in the general capture of the city he was taken with other captives, that upon examination he still showed a rebellious spirit, and was slain by order of the king and disgraced by being cast without the city and left unburied.



Map No. 8. Cross-section of Jerusalem (east and west)

The comparative altitudes of Jerusalem, its valley, and the Mount of Olives, can be realized only by a cross-section such as the above.

245. Jeru- Nebuchadrezzar chose as Jehoiakim's suc-
salem cessor his son Jehoiachin (597 B. C.). A
Plundered; brief period served to test the spirit of the
Exiles. young ruler. Within three months his
 haughtiness and defiance of authority brought upon his capital the Chaldean army. At the approach of the great king, Jehoiachin surrendered, "he, and his mother, and his servants, and his princes and his officers" (2 Kings 24 : 12). Jerusalem was plundered and immense quantities of booty carried to Babylon. But of most impor-

tance for Nebuchadrezzar, who had already projected for Babylonia extensive building operations, were the 7,000 men of might, 1,000 craftsmen and smiths, and 2,000 of the best citizens of Jerusalem. This policy of deportation for crushing a rebellion was the same as that inaugurated by the Assyrian kings of the eighth century. Nebuchadrezzar's plan served two purposes: It guaranteed, for a period at least, the respectful submission of this western district, and furnished him skilful craftsmen for the execution of his elaborate projects in the rehabilitation of Babylonia.

Out of the remnants of the population Mattaniah, with his name changed to Zedekiah, a third son of Josiah, was set on the throne of Jerusalem, as a sworn vassal of Babylon. Nebuchadrezzar apparently left him practically undisturbed until there was uncovered a secret plot to form an alliance with Hophra (Apries) king of Egypt. Doubtless a refusal of Zedekiah to pay the annual tribute confirmed the king of Babylon in the truth of his suspicions. Jerusalem was made the goal of the Babylonian army (588 B. C.). Upon its arrival the city was closed against it and refused to surrender. The Babylonians settled down for a long siege. Jeremiah the prophet advised capitulation, and consequent mercy and life for the inhabitants. But the vacillating king, under control of the rebellious princes, simply echoed their spirit. The Egyptian allies, true to their oath, came to the rescue of Zedekiah. The Babylonians raised the siege only long enough to strike them a blow somewhere between Jerusalem and Egypt, that drove them back to the Nile-land. After the sufferings and horrors of such a siege, probably

pictured in the book of Lamentations, at the end of one year and a half, on the ninth day of the fourth month (July) 586 B. C., Jerusalem was broken into. The walls had yielded to the fell strokes of the battering-rams, and king Zedekiah with his retinue made a vain attempt to reach the East-Jordanic country. He was captured in the plains of Jericho, and carried to Riblah, to the presence of the king against whom he had rebelled. True to the former Assyrian policy of cruelty meted out to persistent rebels, his own sons were slain before his eyes, his own eyes put out, probably in the manner indicated on the Assyrian monuments, by the use of short spears, and he was manacled with fetters and carried a prisoner to Babylon. To forestall the possibility of any future rebellion in this strong fortress, Jerusalem was thoroughly plundered, burnt, its walls leveled to the ground, and the better part of the population transported to Babylonia (2 Kings 25 : 1-11).

246. Nebuchadrezzar's Political Career. The main cause of the overthrow and destruction of the Judean kingdom was the unfaithfulness of Zedekiah to his oath, and the instrument of punishment was Nebuchadrezzar II, son of Nabopolassar (§238). This king is mentioned more than 150 times in the Old Testament, and sustained the closest relations with the Jewish captives in Babylonia. During his forty-three years of administration (604-561 B. C.) he made Babylon the political, commercial, and religious center of the civilized world. His achievements by force of arms must have been something tremendous. Unfortunately his numerous inscriptions thus far discovered contain merely

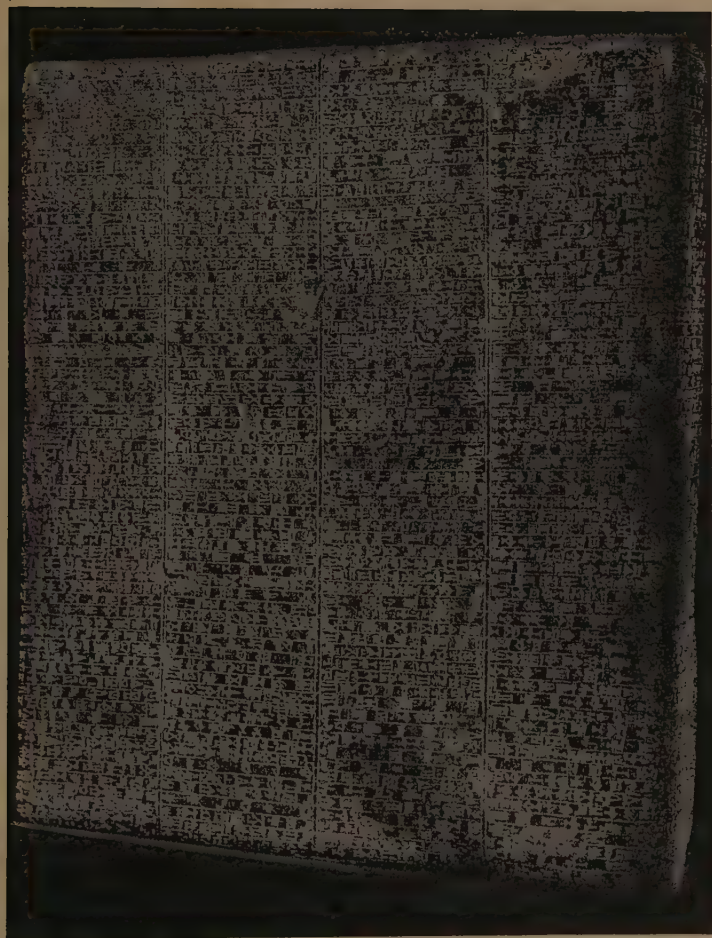


Fig. 104. East India House Inscription of Nebuchadrezzar II

This inscription found among the ruins of Babylon is in the museum of the India Office in London. It carries six columns of archaic Babylonian writing in almost perfect form. It gives us Nebuchadrezzar's name and titles and a description of his stupendous building operations for enlarging and beautifying Babylon (§247). He rebuilt more than twenty temples in Babylon and Borsippa, and strengthened the defenses of the city, and made great quays for the shipping industry and trade.

general statements of his military career. A few lines out of one of his inscriptions ¹ reads:

The wide-spread peoples with whom Marduk the lord filled my hand, to Babylon I subjected. The tribute of the countries, the produce of the hills, the fulness of the seas therein I received.

An extract from the great East India House inscription (Col. 2, 12-29) says:

In high confidence in him (Marduk), Marduk's distant lands, remote mountains from the upper sea [Mediterranean], to the lower sea [Persian Gulf], steep paths, unopened roads . . . difficult ways, journeys without water, I traversed, the disobedient I destroyed, enemies I captured, the lands I ruled, and the people I made to flourish, bad and evil from among the people I put away.

These are purely general statements regarding his conquests and his authority, with no specific reference to any one nation. The inscriptions thus far found and published do not give any details, though references are made to his campaign against Egypt in his thirty-seventh year, and against the Hittites, and the Ammanu, the Anti-Lebanon peoples, of his victories in the West.

If now we turn to the building plans of
247. Nebuchadrezzar, Builder. Nebuchadrezzar, we discover large information in his inscriptions. As a builder he equalled or surpassed the marvelous record of Ramses II of Egypt. He not only laid out and built the city of Babylon on a magnificent scale, rebuilding more than twenty temples in that city and in Borsippa, but he greatly strengthened its fortifications and defenses. In one of his building inscriptions he says: ²

¹ Phillips Cyl., col. 3, 18-22, *P.S.B.A.*, Feb., '88.

² *ZA* I, 337f.

In order to strengthen the defenses of Esagila, that the mighty evil and destroyer might not approach Babylon, that the front of the line of battle might not approach Imgur-Bel, the wall of Babylon; that which no king before me had done, I did, in that on the outside of Babylon, a great wall eastward of Babylon I built about the city. Its moat I dug and reached water-level, then I saw that the moat which my father had fixed, was too small in construction. A

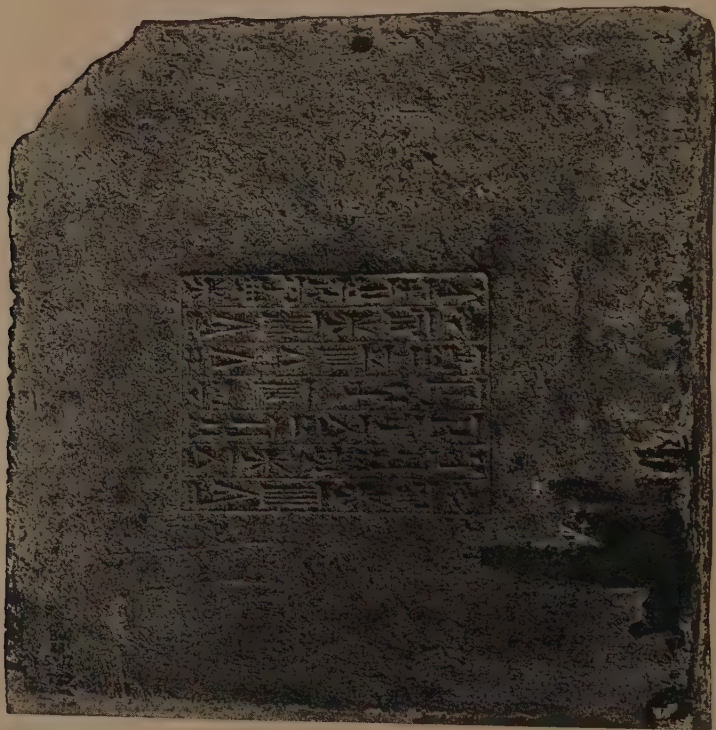


Fig. 102. Brick of Nebuchadrezzar II

This great monarch was the custodian of the Hebrews and Hebrew exiles (604-561 B. C.). His building operations made Babylon world famous (§§345-7). The bricks in his walls carried this significant stamp: "Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, supporter of Esagila and Ezida, exalted first-born son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon."

great wall, which like a mountain cannot be moved, of mortar and brick I built, with the moat which my father made I joined it. Its foundation on the abyss I laid. Its head I raised mountain high. Along the city wall to strengthen it, I made it run, and a great protecting wall for the foundation of this wall of burnt brick I caused to be laid, and built it upon the bosom of the abyss, and made secure its base. The fortification of Esagila of Babylon I strengthened and made an everlasting name for my reign.

He also built enormous quays on the river's bank, and increased the facilities for the growing commerce of the city. "Is not this great Babylon that I have built?" (Dan. 4 : 30) was doubtless many times said by him, for upon most of the bricks thus fartaken out of this mound we find his name. The two most notable buildings restored were the national temples, of Nebo at Borsippa, called Ezida ("the enduring house"), and of Bel-Marduk at Babylon called Esagila ("the house of the exalted head"). The German excavations into the ruins of old Babylon from 1899 to 1913 have brought to light the foundations and part of the walls of many stupendous buildings, and streets, especially Aibur-shabu, and walls, all testifying to the enormous building plans of Nebuchadrezzar (see Figs. 71 and 89).

248. Nebuchadrezzar, The devotional and religious spirit of Nebuchadrezzar, **the** chadrezzar is reflected in many passages in **the** his inscriptions. Here is a sample:³
Righteous.

Nebuchadrezzar, king of righteousness, humble, lowly, who has knowledge of the fear (i. e. worship) of the gods, who loves justice and righteousness, who seeks after life, who puts in the mouth of the people the fear of the mighty gods; who maintains Esagila and Ezida, true son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, am I. . .

³ Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 206.



Fig. 101. The God Nebo

Nabu, "the prophet," was the god of learning of Babylonia, whose residence was in the temple Ezida in Borsippa (Fig. 27). He was the special patron of the priestly class and of the scribes, as Bel was of the civil powers. This figure was erected by the governor of Calah (Nimrud) for the preservation of the king Adad-nirari, king of Assyria (812-782 B. C.) (§202), and his queen Semiramis.

When Marduk, the mighty lord, to the lordship of the land promoted me and called me an exalted name that I might maintain the cities and renew his temples . . . I, prayerful, wise, suppliant, worshiper of his godhead—of the building up of that house I be thought myself.

In another appeal to Marduk he says:

O Marduk, lord of the gods, my divine creator, before thee may my deeds be righteous, may they endure forever! Life for many generations, abundance of posterity, a secure throne, and a long reign, grant as thy gift! Verily thou art my deliverer and my help, O Marduk.

In his prayer to Shamash he says, "May a righteous scepter, a good shepherding, a just staff of rule, prospering the people, adorn my kingdom forever!" These prayers express the outstanding religious character of Nebuchadrezzar in the majority of his available inscriptions.

He was the type of ruler to whom the people of Judah were subject. Whether in Egypt, under his supremacy, or in Palestine or in Babylonia, his word was law. We cannot as yet gain in the inscriptions themselves so much as a hint as to the political, religious, and social conditions of the Jewish exiles. Of course, the Biblical picture is not a dark one. The Babylonian exiles enjoyed many of the privileges of citizens, with settled homes and fixed communities. Some of these were not far from the great capital, for the river Chebar near which Ezekiel was active has been discovered on two tablets dating from the reign of Artaxerxes I (464-424 B. C.). It was a large, navigable canal, not far from Nippur, southeast of Babylon.⁴ In the inscriptions quoted above we saw that Nebu-

⁴ *BE*, Vol. IX, p. 28.

chadrezzar made it one of the chief aims of his life to bring prosperity to his subjects, and therewith to bind them to himself with ties stronger than fetters. The respectful, pious Jews must have experienced a peaceful, prosperous time, aside from the tearful memories of the wasteness and desolation of their native land.

249. Babylonian Revolution. Nebuchadrezzar's active reign of forty-three years closed with his death in 561 B. C. The military and political genius who had fully organized and administered the Babylonian government was gone. Unfortunately this splendid sovereignty fell into the hands of an unworthy son and successor, Amel-Marduk (Evil-Merodach, 2 Kings 25 : 27), who according to Berossus, was restrained neither by law nor by decency. The Old Testament attributes to him the humane act of paroling Jehoiachin, former king of Judah who had been imprisoned since 597 B. C., and of allowing him to eat at the king's table the rest of his life (2 Kings 25 : 27-30). The priestly party soon wearied of the unspeakable misrule of this court-weakling and in about three years brought about his assassination, and the accession of his brother-in-law Neriglissar, who had married his sister. This strong character, old warrior and officer at the fall of Jerusalem, identical with Nergalsharezer of Jeremiah 39 : 3, secured the throne. He followed as far as possible in the footsteps of Nebuchadrezzar, his father-in-law, and restored, according to Nabonidus,⁵ certain temples, and palaces, and greatly improved the water facilities of Babylon.⁶ Before the end of four years

⁵ Coronation Cyl., 4, 3-6.

⁶ *I Rawl.*, 67, 2, 15-39.



Fig. 89. Lion of Babylon in Tiles

One of the picturesque lions which was built into the walls that ran along Procession Road leading to the Ishtar Gate of Babylon, by the Great Nebuchadnezzar II (5247). The walls were faced with glazed tiles of different colors. Some of the lions are white with yellow manes, others yellow with red manes. Each lion is six feet long and on each side of the road there are sixty of them so placed as to face the processions of Marduk the supreme god of the city.

(559-555 B. C.) of a rather successful administration, he died, leaving the throne to his young son, Labashi-Marduk. Nabonidus says, "His young son incapable of ruling (?) against the will of the gods sat on the royal throne."⁷ This gave the priestly party their opportunity, and within nine months the child-king was deposed and one of their own body, Nabonidus, a Babylonian of priestly descent, was installed as the new king. Nabonidus says:⁸

By the word of Marduk the lord, I was raised to the lordship of the land, while they sang "O father of the land!" and I had no rival. Of Nebuchadrezzar and Nergalsharezer, the kings that preceded me, I was their powerful legate; with their troops my hands were entrusted; against their bidding I sinned not, and their heart I made glad. As for Amel-Marduk, the son of Nebuchadrezzar, and Labashi-Marduk, the son of Nergalsharezer . . . they broke their commands.

According to the claims of Nabonidus, he had been a trusted general of the troops of his predecessors, and by reason of his faithfulness had been promoted by the favor of Marduk to the sovereignty over Babylon.

We possess considerable literature from the years of the reign of Nabonidus (555-538 B. C.). There are several semi-historical inscriptions and more than a thousand commercial tablets—already in published form. These date from every year of his reign and give us an intensely interesting insight into commercial methods and social life in Babylonia under the eyes of the Jewish exiles. Nabonidus' activity spent itself, so far as his records inform us, in maintaining the stability of the

⁷ Ball, p. 214.

⁸ Stela, col. 5, 8f.

empire, in strengthening the fortifications on the Euphrates, and especially in restoring and beautifying the temples of the gods.

Nabonidus' joy was to see that the gods dwelt in more glorious temples than men, that their shrines should outshine those of former days. We find a good illustration of the zeal of Nabonidus in this direction:⁹

I gave command to my widely distributed peoples, from the land of Gaza, on the border of the land of Egypt, from the upper sea [Mediterranean] beyond the Euphrates unto the lower sea [Persian Gulf] the kings, princes, governors, and the numerous peoples which Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar, my lords, had intrusted to me, to build Ekhulhul, the temple of Sin, my lord, who walks beside me, which is within the city of Harran, which Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, a prince of my predecessor, had built.

He states that he fully restored and rededicated this great temple "and the city of Harran, in its entire extent—like the new moon I made its splendor to shine."¹⁰ The temple of Shamash at Sippar, though restored by Nebuchadrezzar, had fallen to decay.

When I had brought out Shamash from within it, and made him dwell in another house, that house I tore down, and I made search for its old foundation record; and I dug to a depth of eighteen cubits, and the foundation record of Naram-Sin the son of Sargon (I), which for 3,200 years no king that preceded me had discovered, Shamash the great lord of Ebabbara, the temple of the dwelling of his heart's delight, permitted me, even me, to behold.

Nabonidus, in reconstructing and richly decorating the temples of Sin at Harran and Shamash at Sippar, was

⁹ *V Rawl.*, 64, col. 1, 38-49.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 21, 24, 25.

paying the highest honor to the ancient divinities of Babylonia. Other ancient temples of other ancient divinities were likewise restored, and the former worship re-established. His antiquarian devotion to the shrines of deities of a past age most naturally detracted from his zeal for the great divinities exalted and worshiped as supreme by Nebuchadrezzar and his immediate successors. He even neglected attendance upon some of the established religious festivals, and thus incurred the wrath of the priestly authorities. This lack of the right kind of religious patriotism soon aroused against the king enemies of the bitterest kind, who let no opportunity pass of exposing his weakness. Even Cyrus in the early part of his cylinder, to be noted presently, charges upon Nabonidus malicious intent (Cyl. 6-8):

An edict of dishonor to them . . . daily he contrived. . .
The continual offering he made to cease . . . by a yoke unre-
laxing he ruined them all.

As the years went by Nabonidus gradually lost his grip on kingcraft. He spent his time, energy, and money not on building walls of defense, nor in training an army, but in his passion for restoring and building temples for all the chief deities of the land, old and new. The religious element of the empire became alienated from him, and its political power was thereby endangered.

251. Bel-shazzar.

One of the former troublesome questions in this period has been the identity of Bel-shazzar (of the Book of Daniel). We have already seen that Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, mentions in one of his inscriptions, his firstborn son Bel-

shar-uzur, Belshazzar, where he says: "As for Belshazzar, my firstborn son, my offspring, put into his heart fear of thy great divinity (god Sin); let him not turn to evil-doing; let him be satisfied with the abundance of life." A tablet inscribed in the fifth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, tells us that "the secretary of Belshazzar, son of the king, leased a house for three years, for one and one-half manas of silver, and other considerations." That was about 550 B. C., early in the reign of Nabonidus, while political and religious policies were in the making, and the new king was popular. Also another tablet from the eleventh year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon (545 B. C.), says:

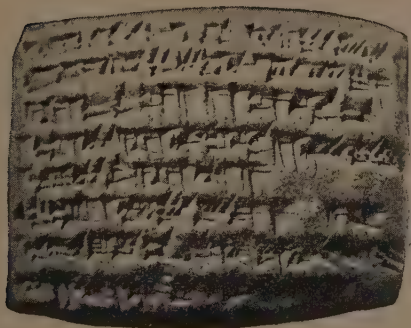
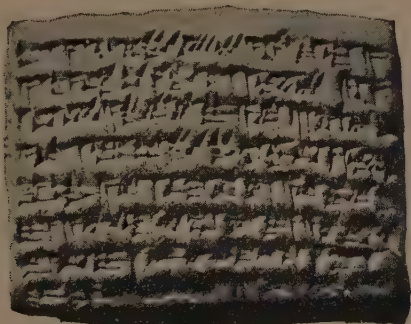
The sum of twenty manas of silver, for wool, the property of Belshazzar, son of the king, which has been delivered to Iddin-Marduk . . . through the agency of Nebo-zabit, the steward of Belshazzar, son of the king.

A third tablet, from "the twelfth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon," states that Nebo-zabit, of the house of Belshazzar, had lent through a broker a sum of money, and taken as security the crops to be grown near Babylon. Doctor Pinches of London has published ¹¹ parts of two tablets from Erech with interesting facts in the same line; when one contract was made the parties thereto took their oath in the name of Nabonidus the king and of Belshazzar the king's son. This inclusion of the son's name with his father's in the same oath puts him in the same class with the king himself. The other tablet was written in the fourth year of Cambyses (524 B. C.),

¹¹ *Expository Times*, April, 1915.

while Gobryas was governor of Babylon. These quotations set at rest at least the historicity of Belshazzar, however his appearance in the Book of Daniel may be explained.

NOTE ON FIG. 26, tail-piece below: Nabonidus, the last Semitic king of Babylon (§250), gave his son Belshazzar an exalted position by his side. This son engaged in business about the capital as shown in the several contract tablets in our hands. This document is a three-year lease in the fifth year of Nabonidus, of a house of Belshazzar, the king's son, for one and one-half manas of silver (§251).





CHAPTER XXIII

THE FALL OF BABYLON AND THE RETURNING EXILES

252. Rise of Cyrus.

The marvelous growth and prosperity of the New Babylonian (Chaldean) empire was largely due to the comparative peace which smiled on all her borders. In Greek sources we are told that this blissful condition was due to a triple alliance signed in 585 B. C. between Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, Alyattes of Lydia, and Cyaxares of Media. The passing of Nebuchadrezzar and the usurpation, if

NOTE ON FIG. 22, head-piece above: When Ashurbanipal decorated his palace at Kuyunjik in Nineveh in honor of his victory over his rebel brother, Shamash-shum-ukin (§233), he had this bas-relief prepared and set up. It represents the city with triple walls such as Diodorus Siculus says were built by Semiramis.



Fig. 36. A Portrait of Cyrus

One of the most ancient specimens of Persian sculpture erected at Pasargadæ (Murghab) in Persia, one of Cyrus' residences, about the date of his capture of Babylon, 538 B. C. His cherubic wings are those of the imaginary cherubim of Ezekiel, chap. i. The head-dress seems to resemble in some respects those of Egypt. His features are not those of the Babylonian-Assyrian rulers, but rather Aryan.

such it was, of the throne of Babylon by Nabonidus a Babylonian priest, snapped the bonds of this alliance. Cyaxares, too, was succeeded in Media by Astyages. These changes brought with them a spirit of rivalry and jealousy. The hardy stock of the highlands south of the Caspian Sea, designated the Umman-manda, were aggressive and ambitious. Their new leader was anything but pleasing to their likings. In a little province in north-western Elam and just south of Media, we find in 559 B. C. a new character, Cyrus by name. In his own records of a later date he says (Cyl. 20-22) :

I am Cyrus, king of the world, the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters (of the world) ; son of Cambyases, the great king, king of the city of Anshan ; the grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of Anshan ; the great-grandson of Teispes, the great king, king of the city of Anshan ; enduring seed of royalty, whose rule Bel and Nebo love, in whose government their hearts take delight.

This genealogical table shows us that his royal ancestry had become thoroughly established on the throne, and that he was the legitimate heir to the headship of Anshan.

Within ten years from his accession (559 B. C.) Cyrus absorbed the above-mentioned Median kingdom. How long previous to this time he had made conquests of minor tribes and peoples we have no means of knowing. In 549 B. C. we find : ¹

[His troops] he assembled, and against Cyrus, the king of Anshan . . . he marched. As for Astyages, his troops revolted against him, and he was seized and hand[ed over] to Cyrus. Cyrus marched

¹ Nab.-Cyr. Chron., col. 2, 1-4.

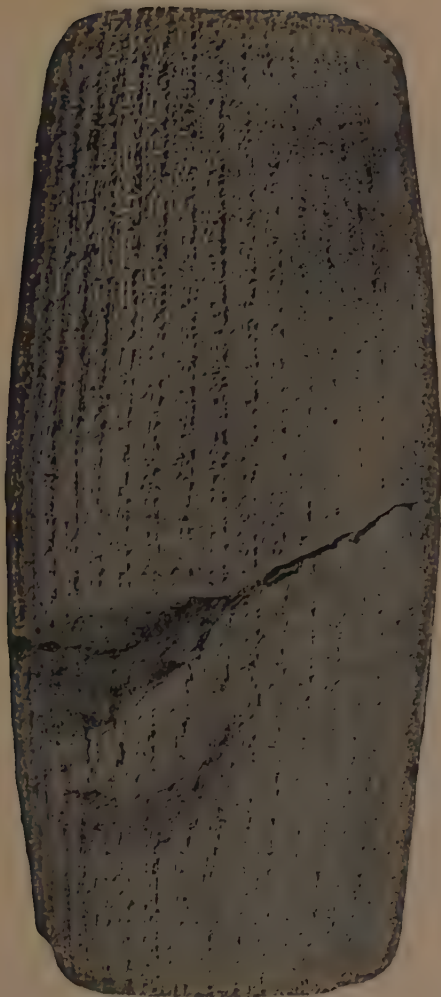


Fig. 35. A Clay Cylinder of Cyrus

Cyrus was welcomed as a benefactor by the population of Babylon. This cylinder record tells how without battle and without fighting Marduk caused him to enter his city Babylon. He spared the city distress, and Nabonidus, the king [of Babylon] who did not fear him (Marduk), he turned over to his hand. Nabonidus the king had neglected the local gods and hence was in disfavor with both priests and people.

to Ecbatana, the royal city; silver, gold, goods and possessions of Ecbatana he carried forth and brought them to the land of Anshan.

This seems to have been a voluntary choice on the part of the Medes, of Cyrus as their king, as against Astyages of the Umman-manda (Medes). This throne became henceforth the possession of Cyrus, and formed one of the chief centers in the great empire which he afterwards created. Cyrus occupied the next two or three years in the East in organizing and establishing himself in his new realms, Persia in the meantime yielding to his arms.

In 546 B. C.²

In the month Nisan, Cyrus, king of the land of Persia, mustered his troops, and below the city of Arbela the Tigris he crossed; and in the month Airu to the land of Ish. . . its king he slew, its goods he took, and his governor he placed therein.

In this western campaign Cyrus was a victor over Cræsus, king of Lydia, and pushed his authority as far as the Ægean Sea. This gave him supremacy from the eastern limits of Media, through the upper plains of Mesopotamia, eastern, middle, and western Asia Minor. Further conquests in the East occupied his attention until the year 539-538 B. C. The heavy and almost impregnable fortifications of Babylon were left for the last stroke.

Fortunately we are not dependent upon the statements of second- or third-hand historians for a description of the fall of Babylon. We have the records both of Nabonidus, the reigning and vanquished Babylonian king, and of Cyrus, the Aryan conqueror. Though

**254. Fall of
Babylon,
Two
Records.**

² Nab.-Cyr. Chron., col. 2, Ob. 15-18.

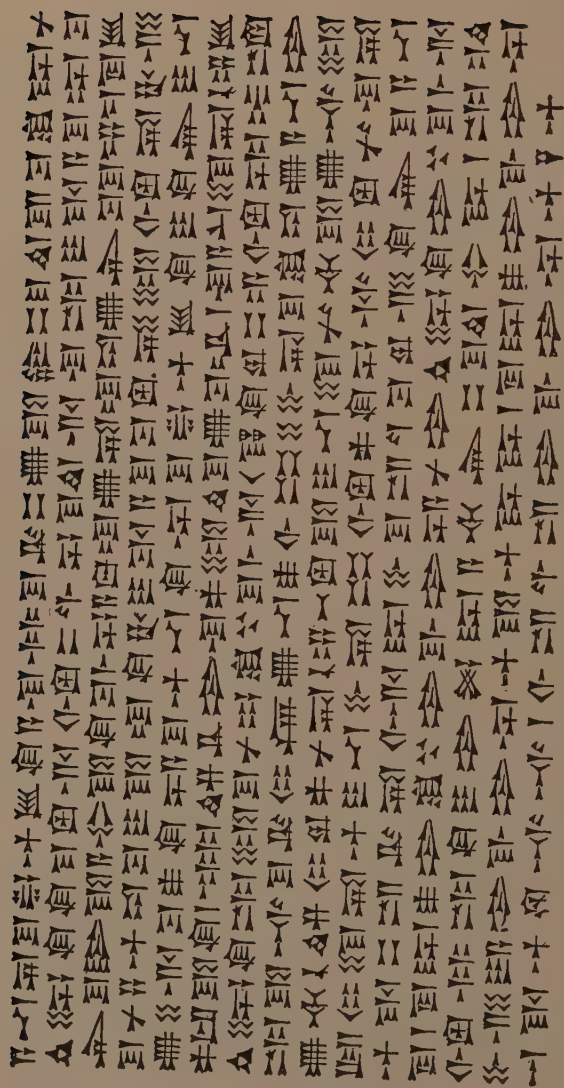


Fig. 21. Cuneiform Account of the Fall of Babylon, 538 B. C.

Cyrus fortunately left us his own account of the capture of Babylon (§254), inscribed on clay. Besides his record of the achievement he gives us his ancestry (§252), of noble stock, and leads us to understand that he was the man of destiny among the men of his day. This inscription embraces lines 15-22 of this Cyrus Cylinder.

somewhat fragmentary in places, they nevertheless furnish us with a fascinating picture of that epoch-making event. Nabonidus' own record will be cited first: ³

In the month Tammuz (June), when Cyrus gave battle in Opis, on the river Salsallat, to the troops of Akkad, the inhabitants of Akkad revolted, and whenever they collected in groups they were smitten. On the 14th day Sippar was plundered without a battle. Nabonidus fled. On the 16th day, Gobryas, the governor of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle. Nabonidus, on account of his delay, was taken prisoner in Babylon. Until the end of the month Tammuz, the shields of Gutium guarded the doors of Esagila. No weapons were brought into Esagila and the other temples, nor was any (war) standard advanced. On the 3rd day of Marcheshvan (October), Cyrus entered Babylon. Obstructions disappeared before him. Peace for the city he established. Cyrus proclaimed peace to all Babylon. Gobryas, his governor, he appointed governor of Babylon. And from Chislev (November) to Adar (February), the gods of Akkad, which Nabonidus had brought to Babylon, returned to their own cities. In the night of the 11th of Marcheshvan, Gobryas against . . . he slew the king's son. From the 27th of Adar (February) to the 3rd of Nisan (March), there was lamentation in Akkad; all the people hung their heads.

This remarkable piece of the royal annals astonishes us by recording but one battle in the neighborhood of Babylon. That was fought with the peoples of Akkad, and resulted favorably for Cyrus' troops. Thence the way was open into the city of the empire. The reception of the army is equaled only by the liberty which was announced for the whole city.

Cyrus' own cylinder gives us a no less wonderful story. This sets out by assuring the reader that he was thoroughly imbued with the idea that he was the man of destiny: ⁴

³ Nab.-Cyr. Chron., Rev., col. I, 12-24.

⁴ Cyl., 11-19, 22-24.

Through all lands he (Marduk) searched, he saw him, and he sought the righteous prince, after his own heart, whom he took by the hand. Cyrus, king of Anshan, he called by name; to sovereignty over the whole world he appointed him. The country of Gutium, all the Umman-manda, he made his subjects. As for the black-headed people, whom he (Marduk) caused his (Cyrus') hands to conquer, with justice and righteousness he took care of them. Marduk, the great lord, guardian of his people, beheld with joy his gracious deeds and his righteous heart. To his city, Babylon, he issued orders to march, and he caused him to take the road to Babylon, going by his side as a friend and companion. His numerous troops, whose number like the waters of a river cannot be known, fully equipped, marched by his side. Without skirmish or battle he permitted him to enter Babylon. His city Babylon he spared in its disaster. Nabonidus, the king, who did not reverence him, he delivered into his hand. All the people of Babylon, of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors, prostrated themselves before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his sovereignty, their faces beamed with joy. The lord (Marduk), who by his power brings the dead to life, who by care and protection benefits all mankind—they gladly did him homage, they honored his command. . . . When I made my triumphal entrance into Babylon, with joy and rejoicing I took up my lordly residence in the king's palace. Marduk, the great lord, [granted] me favor among the Babylonians, while I gave daily attention to his worship. My numerous troops marched peacefully into Babylon.

These two records of the capture of Babylon from two opposing sources present a marvelous harmony. They unite in the statement that the city made no resistance to the entrance of the army of Cyrus, neither was there any objection to his immediate assumption of control, unless, in the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle, we interpret the guards about the temple of Esagila as a minor siege. On the other hand, the population of the city seems to have welcomed their new conqueror, deliverer, and ruler, as a friend and benefactor. The popular enmity incited by

the faithful devotees of Bel and Nebo against Nabonidus for his neglect of worship, was gladly transformed into fealty to one who honored and revered the great gods of Babylon. It had likewise become evident that the sway of Cyrus meant for other lands a renewed and continuous political prosperity and a religious liberty unknown in the annals of other rulers. This array of good points freely opened the gates of Babylon to give Cyrus a royal welcome. In view of this direct testimony of two contemporaneous documents, we are forced to the conclusion that the story of Herodotus that Cyrus diverted the waters of the Euphrates from its channel and marched in under the unguarded gates of the river, cannot be true. It may refer to the later capture of Babylon by Darius in 516 B. C.

255. Baby- lon.

Since the significant events of this period center at Babylon, let us take a look at that world-center. We cannot take up its history from the beginning, but shall endeavor to see what it was when it welcomed Cyrus as its ruler. For millennia it had been a kind of sun to Babylonia, radiating culture and civilization to all the peoples not only of that great valley but of the known world. Its language, as we have seen, in the fifteenth century B. C. became the language of diplomacy in southwestern Asia and Egypt. The Egyptian kings of that century sent their orders to their provinces and districts in Canaan, Syria, and along the Euphrates written in the script and language of Babylon. Even the Hittites in Asia Minor, a little later, adopted the same script to prepare the official documents of their own language. As soon as the Babylonian

script was in general use the way was open for the transmission of literature and general culture. But we must not attempt in this connection to follow Babylon's checkered career down through the centuries. It is enough to say that during all that sweep of centuries she never ceased to be a prominent and important city in spite of the ruler or the people who held sway within her walls. Her name, *Bab-ili*, "gate of god," has always attached to the ruins of the site that has never been lost. Its decline and decay under Seleucid and Parthian rule, were not so wasteful as to wipe out its famous name from the general memory of man, nor the ruins from the landscape of Babylonia. Babylon lay on the Euphrates, mainly on the east bank, forming nearly a square, the angles pointing towards the points of the compass, with the Euphrates cutting through it diagonally from north to south. The fabulous story of Herodotus that its wall was fifty-three miles in circumference has been discredited by fourteen years of excavations carried on by the Germans (1899-1913). Its veritable wall line, ruins of part of which are plainly visible, was probably no more than eleven miles in circumference. Double walls and a moat of vast proportions were its outer defenses. In the east section of the city were located the citadel, the palace of Nebuchadrezzar with all its courts, gateways and streets; the temples of Ninmakh and of Ishtar, and innumerable lesser buildings not yet completely uncovered. The stupendous scale on which everything was built shows us that the square city whose walls were nearly three miles long on a side was a center that commanded the astonishment and admiration of the civilized world.



From Breasted, *Ancient Times*; courtesy of Ginn & Co.

Map No. 3. Plan of the Ruins of Babylon

Babylon was a large city for those days (§255), though not so stupendous as Herodotus relates. Its ruins lay on both sides of the Euphrates, though mainly on the east, where Koldewey uncovered the Ishtar Gate (Fig. 71), the Procession Street (Fig. 89), and parts of several palaces and temples. Within the walls there was probably a large open space used for parks and pleasure-grounds. Note especially the irrigating-canals.

Then, too, its location relative to international trade-routes gave it unrivaled advantage. Babylon lay almost at the narrowest part of the Mesopotamian valley, where the Tigris comes nearest to the Euphrates. Through this kind of neck came all the routes from the northwest, leading from Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and the Mediterranean basin. Then from the north came the Black Sea trunk lines down across Armenia to Mesopotamia to Babylon. From the mountains in the East came the Persian lines of trade. All passed either through Babylon or in close proximity thereto—making her a metropolis for those days, comparable with London or New York in these times. When Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus, he became ruler of the political, commercial, cultural, and religious center of the world. Cyrus assumed the responsibility of administering its government, of satisfying its diverse population, and of keeping peace with all the rest of the territory that he had conquered. The inauguration of his new liberal policy was an epoch in the history of southwestern Asia, and one which for the future would, and did, distribute rather than centralize the interests which had formerly focalized in Babylon—and thus marked the beginning of her decline as a world-metropolis.

256. Cyrus Favored All Gods.	The policy adopted by Cyrus, and put into effect at once in Babylon, fostered the affectionate favor of the gods and of his subjects.
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(Cyl. 24-36:) In all Sumer and Akkad, I allowed no enemy [to enter]. In Babylon and all its cities was I anxious about its inhabitants. Their injuries I bettered, and soothed their sorrow. . .

me, Cyrus, the king, who reveres him, and Cambyases, my own son, and all my troops, while we, in his presence, sincerely and gladly praised his exalted . . . All the kings enthroned in royal palaces, in all quarters of the world, from the upper sea to the lower sea, who dwell . . . all the kings of the Westland, who dwell in tents, brought me heavy tribute, and in Babylon kissed my feet. From . . . (cities of) Ashur and Ishtar . . . Agade, Abnunak, Zamban, Meturnu, Durilu, as far as the border of Gutium, cities which are beyond the river Tigris, whose foundations were laid in antiquity—the gods who dwelt in them I restored to their places, and gave them an everlasting abode. I gathered together all their populations and restored (them to) their dwelling-places. But the gods of Sumer and Akkad, whom Nabonidus, to the displeasure of the lord of the gods (Marduk), had brought into Babylon, I, by the command of Marduk the great lord, made them to dwell peacefully in their own shrines, which were according to their hearts' desire. May all the gods whom I have brought into their own cities, daily before Bel (Marduk) and Nebo pray that I may have a long life, may they speak a word in my favor, and say to Marduk my lord: May Cyrus, the king who worships thee, and Cambyases his son . . . all the lands I let dwell in peace.

Unfortunately the remaining lines of this notable inscription are almost entirely broken away. What has been quoted gives us the sweep of Cyrus' supremacy and the gist of his beneficent policy. He was the protector and the bounteous promoter of the welfare of his subjects. Their deities and their methods of worship were graciously restored, and dignified by elevating them to their former positions. The peoples, too, who had been forcibly deported from their native lands, were restored by the king's decree. This generous policy, in contrast with that of preceding rulers, gave Cyrus unwonted influence and power over his retainers. It may be that the fact that he was an Aryan, with newer and freer ideas than those that had grown up in Semitic thought and power,

threw an added charm about his personality, policy, and hopes for the future of the peoples.

**257. Cyrus
and the
Hebrew
Prophets.**

The significance of the rise of Cyrus is vividly portrayed by the words of the prophet to the exiles in Babylon. Words of comfort addressed to the exiles assured them (Isa. 40 : 1, 2) that their punishment would soon cease. They should return to their homeland, inhabit it, and rebuild their cities and restore the waste places (Isa. 44 : 26). This should be accomplished by a deliverer who was already on his way to conquer.

Who hath raised up one from the east, whom he calleth in righteousness to his foot? he giveth nations before him and maketh him rule over kings; he giveth them as the dust to his sword, as the driven stubble to his bow. He pursueth them, and passeth on safely, even by a way that he had not gone with his feet. Who hath wrought and done it, calling the generations from the beginning? I, Jehovah, the first, and with the last, I am he (Isa. 41 : 2-4).

Again we find:

Thus saith Jehovah to his anointed (selected), to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and I will loose the loins of kings; to open the doors before him, and the gates shall not be shut. . . For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel my chosen, I have called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me. I am Jehovah, and there is none else; besides me there is no God. I will gird thee, though thou hast not known me (Isa. 45 : 1, 4, 5).

Cyrus is distinctly designated as the agent of Jehovah to conquer the nations. His mission was a providential one, and in no sense because he was a worshiper of Jehovah, but for the sake of his servant Jacob.

To deliver the Jews it was necessary that the great

Babylon, the pride of her kings, the yoke of her subjects, should fall. Numerous prophecies from Jeremiah down had pictured her doom. But her conqueror is now at hand:

Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon; sit on the ground without a throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate. . . Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called the mistress of kingdoms. . . Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from the things that shall come upon thee. Behold they shall be as stubble; . . . there shall be none to save thee (Isa. 47 : 1, 5, 13, 15).

Nothing that they can muster shall be able to avert the certain doom of the wicked city. On the eve of its fall the prophet sees some of its consequences.

Bel (Marduk) boweth down, Nebo stoopeth; their idols are upon the beasts, and upon the cattle: the things that ye carried about are made a load, a burden to the weary beast. They stoop, they bow down together; they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity (Isa. 46 : 1, 2).

The substance of these and other prophecies is that Babylon must be humiliated, her proud position surrendered, and even her idols become a load for beasts and not a joy to their own worshipers. This last statement was fulfilled only in the sense that the idols, as contrasted with Jehovah's power who was bringing this about, would be merely a burden of useless material. For as Cyrus himself claimed, it was under the auspices of the gods that he marched into Babylon.

Having already given (§253) the contemporaneous

records of the fall of Babylon, let us now consider Cyrus in relation to the Jewish return. We have noted (§254) that Cyrus inaugurated a policy of generosity toward his new subjects, that he endeavored to promote in every way their welfare. As a wise statesman, a shrewd politician, and a kind-hearted ruler, he planned methods by which he could better the condition of his peoples. He was ready to espouse their cause almost to the peril of his throne. He revered their gods, and where they had been neglected or desecrated, he was solicitous for their restoration to their former shrines and veneration. Babylon and all its precincts bore evidences of his spirit in the rebuilding and rededication of many shrines and temples. His own appeals to the gods, and his avowed support reveal Cyrus as a polytheist of a pronounced type. It was not a matter of monotheism, of a possible Zoroastrianism, that called his attention to the Jews, but other reasons of no mean proportions: (1) In addition to the restoration and rehabilitation of captive and dethroned deities, he says (Cyl. 32), "All of their peoples I assembled and restored to their own dwelling-places." This definitely stated national policy gives us one reason for the royal proclamation (Ezra 1 : 2-4) issued in favor of the Jews. (2) It is altogether probable that Cyrus caught up from some one in Babylonia the mission which had been assigned him by the prophets. "He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built; and of the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid" (Isa. 44 : 28). (3) Palestine had been a kind of buffer-state from time immemorial between southwestern Asia and Egypt. To occupy and hold that strong

fortress, Jerusalem, was the first step toward the conquest of the rival power. If Cyrus could conserve that advantage by aiding the Jews to build and hold it, he would be setting up one battlement in the face of Egypt's army. For one of his next strokes would be at the rival imperial power on the Nile.

258. **Cyrus' Proclamation.** Cyrus issued his proclamation authorizing the return of the Jewish exiles in the first year of his sovereignty as king of Persia

(Ezra 1 : 1), 538 B. C. It is entirely reasonable to conjecture that, in accordance with his general principles of government, he issued many similar documents to other peoples in exile. The copy quoted in Ezra 1 : 2-4 gives a few only of the specifications originally announced. In subsequent references to the document (Ezra 3 : 2-7; 5 : 13-16; 6 : 1-5), we discover that elaborate provisions were made for the building of the temple, as well as for the reinauguration of the worship of Jehovah. Cyrus had not overlooked anything that would contribute to the rapid reclamation of this western waste. The proclamation was of such scope as to include the Jews in any part of his realm. The citizens of the empire were also authorized, if they wished, to render assistance to the pilgrims to Palestine. How generally they responded to the royal edict is stated in Ezra 2. This pilgrimage of less than 50,000 of the faithful to the land of their fathers relieved the administration of Cyrus from the presence, in any part of the realm, of a dissatisfied, disturbing Jewish element. It also populated and built up a section of his territory which had been overrun and devastated by successive armies of Assyria and Babylonia.

It likewise gave spirit to a people whose national life had been next to blotted out by a succession of well-deserved chastisements and captivities. In this event many of the brightest and most hopeful utterances of the great prophets found their fulfilment, and their fruition.

NOTE ON FIG. 2, tail-piece below: The Assyrian weather-god Adad, from a votive offering dedicated by Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, in the temple of Esagila at Babylon. He holds in his hands thunderbolts, and thongs attached to dragons that lie at his feet. His high hat and robe decorated with sun-disks, give him a distinctive divine appearance (cf. Fig. 157).





CHAPTER XXIV

PERSIA AND THE JEWS IN THE WEST

259. Returns from Babylonia. When Cyrus issued his proclamation in Babylon about 538 or 537 B. C., it must have met with a hearty response from thousands of captive peoples who had been forcibly brought into that land. This proclamation reversed the transportation policy of the Assyrian kings of the eighth century B. C. Cyrus permitted and aided the home-sick captives to return to their homelands and to build and organize for a kind of autonomous government, under the suzerainty of Persia. Perhaps the Jews were more highly favored than others, in that special aid was given them by the authorities. The monuments throw no special light on this migration except to note that migrations from one country to another either voluntary or

NOTE ON FIG. 3, head-piece above: The Persian deity Ahuramazda appears on outspread wings, with drawn bow ready to discharge his deadly arrows. Over the cylinder of Darius (Fig. 41), and over the tombs of Persian kings and royal events (Figs. 25, 41) his protective wings guard the objects of his care.

involuntary were no new thing in the Orient. The special feature about this, and these, Jewish caravans from Babylonia to Palestine, was that they were composed of selected persons with a clean genealogical record from early days. They were to rejuvenate the ruined city and temple and worship, and reinaugurate on the soil of their fathers the well-remembered racial institutions that had been all but obliterated in the exile.

**260. Other
Colonies
of Jews.**

The captive and migrating Jews were not all in the Mesopotamian Valley or Babylonia. Many had been sold as slaves by the Philistines (Amos 1 : 6) and the Edomites (Amos 1 : 9), probably to the Phœnicians who distributed them about the Mediterranean countries. Some also found their way into Egypt, either as captives, or as mercenaries, or as immigrants. When Jeremiah was carried to the Delta he found a colony of his own people, which had fallen deep into the religious superstitions of the Egyptians (Jer. 44), and were averse to obeying the injunctions of the old prophet. Other migrations had taken place when there was a threat of invasion by an enemy or an actual campaign through Palestine. The world-wide dispersion of the Jews in the Persian and Greek periods may be largely attributed to captivities, to migrations, and to trade advantages which appeared in those periods of activity. That there was constant and regular communication between these colonies and communities far and wide is evidenced especially by the discoveries of the last twenty-five years. We have known that the Palestinian colony kept up communications with those who chose rather to remain in the comforts of



Map No. 6. Map of Elephantine

Almost opposite the city of Assuan, at the foot of the first cataract in the middle of the Nile, lay this wonderful island of Elephantine (Yebu, or Jeb, the Egyptian name for elephant). It was the home of the Jewish colony of the fifth century B. C. (§§261-8), many of whose documents we now possess.

Babylonia than to endure the hardships of the almost barren homeland. Indeed Babylonia was so agreeable to the majority of the Jews that when Cyrus issued his proclamation there was no mad rush to return with the pioneer band of exiles to the land of their fathers.

261. **Elephantine.** One of the most startling discoveries in Egypt about the opening of this twentieth century was made at the foot of the first cataract of the Nile. The Assuan dam was built by the British at the top of this five-mile rush of waters. When the rocky dangerous passage is left behind one meets the south end of the island of Elephantine, just opposite the site of the city of Assuan. This island lies nearly in the middle of the Nile, is about one mile long and three-eighths of a mile wide in its broadest part, tapering almost to a point at the lower or northern end. On the larger south end, facing the cataract, there stood in early times a complex of buildings, including temples and residences, gardens and parks. This district was called Jeb, "elephant," because the Egyptians are said to have seen the first African elephant on this island. The latitude makes the island today a picturesque place to live, with its palm trees and other semitropical vegetation.

As early as 1895, diggers among the ruins on the south end of the island found ostraca and rolls of dried papyri covered with Aramaic writing. These fortunately fell into friendly hands and were rescued for scholars. In 1904 the Service of Antiquities of Egypt undertook excavations on the same spot, and found fragments of Greek and demotic papyri in considerable abundance. In the meantime rolls of Aramaic papyri were being offered for

sale by Assuan local dealers in antiquities. Evidently clandestine digging had been carried on by natives, and the finds offered for sale wherever they would bring the most money. These almost perfect rolls were picked up and preserved for science by persons who were personally interested in the discoveries. Subsequent digging at Elephantine by the Germans yielded further valuable results. The papyri themselves were finally lodged in the museums of Cairo, Oxford, London, and Berlin.

**262. Jewish
Religious
Tolerance.**

This was the first discovery ever made of Aramaic papyri in any considerable quantity. These were practically complete and fairly lengthy documents, in clean handwriting, and furnished with exact dates. They give us documents written in the Aramaic language as it was used in the western provinces of the Persian empire in the fifth century B. C., or from 494 to about 400 B. C.

The surprising thing about this find is that we have in this discovery positive proof that within a century after Jeremiah's words (in chapter 44), there was a colony of Jews at this extreme southern end of Egypt proper, that they had purchased land, built houses, and engaged in business as bankers, money-lenders and merchants, and were soldiers. They brought with them their religion and built a temple or synagogue to *Yahu* (Jehovah) as the name should properly be called—really only the short form which is found in many Hebrew proper names of the Old Testament. This temple stood by the king's avenue in Elephantine. But these Jews were not as intolerant of Egyptian gods as the Old Testament prophets would have wished. This attitude is seen in the name of

a witness to a deed, signed in 465 B. C. by Hosea son of Peti-Khnum ("gift of Khnum"), though he may have been a proselyte. One of the prominent characters in the first batch of documents found was a woman Mibhtahyah, whose second husband was an Egyptian architect by the name of Ashor, son of Teos; subsequently, however, he changed his name to Nathan—possibly he became a



From Breasted, *Ancient Times*; courtesy of Ginn & Co.

Fig. 47. Ruins of Elephantine

The ruins of Elephantine stand on the south end of the island, just at the foot of the rushing five-mile first cataract (§261) of the Nile, opposite the present city of Assuan. Some of these houses built mainly of sun-dried brick date from nearly the pyramid age of Egypt, and when they crumbled in that dry climate they preserved the belongings of the owners including even papyri, down to the present day; the most interesting for our purpose are the documents of the Jewish colony on that island in the fifth century B. C.

proselyte. This same Mibhtahyah after her marriage to Ashor took her oath not by Yahu but by the Egyptian goddess Sati. But the oath by either Jewish or Egyptian deity was equally valid in the courts. The Jews' own "tribunal" was recognized by law as fully as either

Egyptian or Persian courts. In one court we have Pi, a non-Jew, appearing, and on this occasion Mibhtahyah swore by Sati, and the names of the scribe and witnesses are Syrian and Arab. By the side of the Hebrew "tribunal" we find that of Napha, presided over by a Persian officer who represents the commander of the Persian garrison at Elephantine.

**263. Legal
Status of
the Jews.**

The law by which the Jews in Elephantine lived was that of the Persian empire. Aside from the "tribunal" of the Jews, their rule of life and society was Persian, and not Egyptian. Babylonian law was the basis of all their deeds and other instruments for the conveyance of property. Even penalties for neglect to carry out contracts have their background in the regulations of Babylonian law. Wills for disposal of property real and personal, not only after one's death but in succession thereafter, were based on the fundamental laws of Babylonia. Woman stood on an equality with man in this respect, being empowered both to hold property and by testament to dispose of it at death.

Divorce in the Jeb colony was based on a liberal interpretation of rights. The woman here had the same rights as the man to pronounce a sentence of divorce, but either to be valid must be done in the public assembly. To demand a divorce carried with it a penalty, which was a partial loss of the marriage settlement if the husband divorced his wife, and of the gift from the groom if the wife divorced her husband. The marriage settlement passed to the children of the divorced wife, if it was real estate on which the husband had put up buildings; or if

the wife was forced to leave her husband without an actual divorce, half of the property was left with the husband as his share of the property.

**264. Na-
tionals in
Jeb.**

The cosmopolitan character of the Jewish colony at Jeb (Elephantine) is shown by the number of other nationalities who mingled in their business and social life. These are seen mainly in the names of witnesses attached to the various legal documents drawn up and executed. Entirely aside from the Jewish names which we should look for on each instrument, are names of nationals from almost every corner of the Persian realm. Of Persian names we find Waidrang, Artabanes, Ashjadata, Baga-bhukhsha, and many others; of Babylonian there are Sinkashid, Hadad-nuri, Ishum-kudurri, Ishum-ramu, Nur-Shamash; of Egyptian we find Ashor, Petisis, Pa-khnum, Peti-Khnum, Ta-Khnum, and the like; of Arab names there are Odnahar, Duma; of Aramaic names—it should be said that the documents drawn up seem to use “Jews” and “Aramæans” as equivalents. The same person is called a Jew in one document and an Aramæan in another. However, there are some names that can be recognized as only Aramæan or possibly mixed with Babylonian, such as Nushku-idri and Ata-idri. Other peculiar names are Barbari, possibly a “Berber,” and Harshin, some foreigner at home in Jeb. Another evidence of the cosmopolitan nature of Jeb is seen in the double dating of the documents. The exact year in which each document was written can be ascertained through the double dating in Egyptian and Aramaic months and often the days of the months, thus giving us for chronological purposes a

most valuable contribution, beginning fourteen years before the battle of Salamis and reaching down a generation after the date of Malachi of the Old Testament.

265. **The Temple Papyrus.** Of all the papyri found the most interesting is the letter sent to Jerusalem after Cambyses had invaded Egypt in 525 B. C. and the Persian governor had destroyed the Jewish temple to Yahu. It reads as follows: ¹

To our lord Bagoas, governor of Judea, thy servants Jedoniah and his associates, the priests who are in Jeb the fortress, peace! May our Lord, the God of heaven, grant unto thee abundance at all times, and place thee in favor with Darius the king, and the sons of the royal house, a thousand times more than at present; and give thee long life with good fortune and strength at all times! Now that thy servant Jedoniah and his associates say: "In the month Tammuz, year fourteen of Darius the king, when Arsham left and went to the king, the priests of the god Khnub, who were in Jeb the fortress, made an agreement with Waidrang, who was acting governor here, to this effect: 'The temple of Yahu the God, which is in Jeb, the fortress, should be removed from there.'

"Afterwards this Waidrang treacherously sent a letter to Nephtan his son, commander of the army in Syene (Assuan), the fortress, as follows: 'The temple in Jeb the fortress should be destroyed.' Afterwards Nephtan assembled Egyptians with the other troops, and they came to the fortress Jeb with their weapons; they went up into this temple, they leveled it to the ground, and the stone pillars they broke into pieces. And they destroyed the five stone entrances (!) made of cut stone, which were in the temple, and the swinging doors and the bronze hinges of each. And the roof of cedar-wood, all of it. . . (?) . . . and the other things there, all of them they burnt with fire. And the vessels of gold and silver, and other like things in this temple, they took and appropriated for themselves.

"Since the days of the kings of Egypt our fathers built this temple in the fortress Jeb. And when Cambyeses came to Egypt he found

¹ Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus*, Nos. 1, 4, 6 and 11.

this temple already built. And the temples of the gods of Egypt were torn down, but no one did any damage to this temple. And after they (Waidrang and the priests of Khnub) had done this, we and our wives and sons put on sackcloth, and fasted and prayed to Yahu God of heaven, who, touching Waidrang, permitted this spectacle; may dogs tear the anklets from his feet, and all the treasures which he secured be destroyed, and all the men who tried to injure this temple—may all be slain, and we look down upon them! And formerly at the time this shameful act was done to us we sent a letter to our lord, and unto Jehohanan, the high priest, and to his associates, priests in Jerusalem, and unto Ostan, the brother of Anani, and the elders of the Jews; but they have sent us no word in response. So from the month Tammuz of the fourteenth year of Darius the king even to this day have we worn sackcloth and fasted; our wives have become like (mourning) widows; we have not anointed ourselves with oil, nor have we drunk wine. Also from that time until this day in the seventeenth year of Darius the king, no meat-offering or incense or burnt offering has been offered in this temple. Now thy servants, Jedoniah and his associates and the Jews, all citizens of Jeb say, 'If it please our Lord, mayest thou think on the rebuilding of this temple. Because they will not permit us to rebuild it, so do thou look upon the recipients of thy favor and thy kindnesses here in Egypt. Let a letter from thee be sent to them concerning the temple of Yahu, to build it in Jeb the fortress, as it was built formerly; that meat-offerings, incense, and burnt offerings may be offered in thy name on the altar of Yahu, and we will pray for thee at all times, we and our wives and our children and all the Jews who are here.' If thus they do until this temple is built, then righteousness shall be thine before Yahu the God of heaven, more than the righteousness (merit) of any man, who offers burnt offering and sacrifices of the value of 1,000 pieces of silver. And respecting gold for this, we have sent a messenger and information. Also we have sent all of it in our name in a letter to Delaiah and Shelemiah, sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria. Also concerning this which is done to us, all of it Arsham does not know.

On the twentieth of Marcheshvan in the year of king Darius, the seventeenth.

To this letter Bagoas the governor of Jerusalem sent the following reply to the community at Elephantine;

A notation of what Bagoas and Delaiah said to me; Notation: Thou shalt speak among the Egyptians before Arsham concerning the house of sacrifices of the God of heaven, which was formerly built in Jeb the fortress, before Cambyses, which this accursed Waidrang destroyed in the fourteenth year of Darius the king, to rebuild it in its former location, and meat-offering and incense let them offer upon this altar just as it was formerly done.

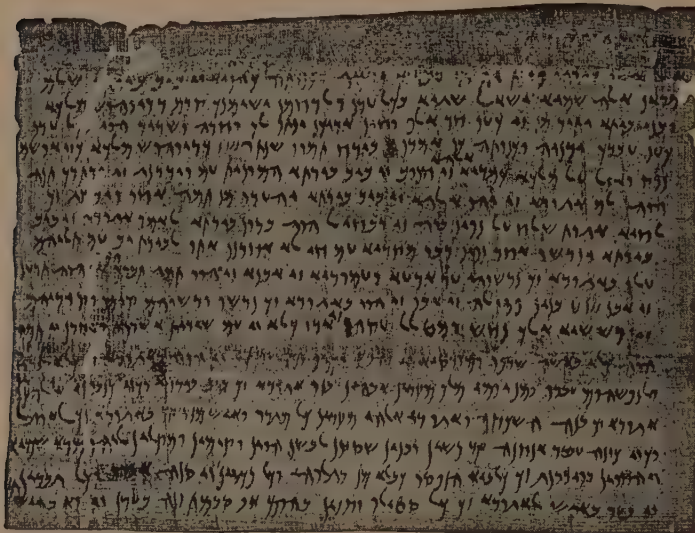
**266. Signifi-
cance of the
Temple
Papyrus.**

The date of the first letter was the seventeenth year of Darius II, that is, 407 B. C. At that time the temple of Yahu had lain in ruins for three years, since its desecration and destruction at the instigation of Waidrang and the Egyptian priests of Khnub. Those of the colony of Jeb who had worshiped at this temple had been deprived of the privilege for the three years. Their appeal to the high priest at Jerusalem had been futile; so now they wrote to the Persian governor of Jerusalem, Bagoas, and to the two sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria, for permission to rebuild the temple of Yahu. Bagoas grants their request, and the temple is to be rebuilt.

We are more than surprised to find a temple to the God of Israel in Egypt. Yet Isaiah (19 : 19-22) says:

In that day there shall be an altar to Jehovah in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to Jehovah. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto Jehovah of hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto Jehovah because of oppressors, and he will send them a saviour and a defender, and he will deliver them. And Jehovah shall be known to Egypt and the Egyptians shall know Jehovah in that day; yea, they shall worship with sacrifice and oblation, and shall vow a vow unto Jehovah, and shall perform it. And Jehovah will smite Egypt, smiting and healing; and they shall return unto Jehovah, and he will be entreated of them, and will heal them.

This Jewish colony of faithful Jehovah-worshippers had its enemies, who accomplished their dire purpose—the Persian commander, who should have protected them in their worship, being the active agent to wipe out the temple of Yahu. It appears in the papyrus that the Jerusalem authorities took no step to rebuild the temple until appeal was sent both to Jerusalem and to Samaria—rival headquarters for worship. This shows at least that the



From Breasted, *Ancient Times*; courtesy of Ginn & Co.

Fig. 7. Aramaic Letter from Elephantine

The colony at Elephantine of several hundred Jews (§265) seems to have either been brought or migrated to this paradise of an island long years before Cyrus captured Babylon or Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem. This letter, of which you see seventeen lines, tells how the jealous Egyptian priests and Persian officials conspired and destroyed the temple of Yahu. The Jewish colony went into mourning and for three years fruitlessly besought the Persian governor of Palestine to permit them to rebuild. This final appeal, both to Bagoas and to Sanballat, won their case. The papyrus is written in Aramaic, in a script practically Phœnician, and substantially the same as that in which the Old Testament of that day was written.

break between the two centers of worship was open and influential, and that Jerusalem, rather than give Samaria the upper hand, hastily returned authority to rebuild the sacred house.

267. Temple One of the longest papyri is the list of
Tax and names of those who paid the temple tax.
Passover. The document consists of seven columns averaging about twenty lines a column and an eighth column of three lines; about one-half of the lines are complete and can be plainly read. They contain names of a half dozen nationals who contributed their shekel to the support of the temple.

Among the scores of letters contained in these rolls of papyri is one written by Hananiah regarding the coming celebration of the passover. It reads as follows:²

To Jedoniah and his associates, the Jewish garrison, your brother, Hananiah. Peace of my brethren God. . . Now this year, the year five of Darius, the king, from the king there was sent to Arsham. . . Ye shall count fou[rteen] . . . and from the fifteenth day unto the twenty-first . . . be clean and guard yourselves. Work . . . ye shall n[ot] drink, and all which is leavened ye shall n[ot eat] . . . from the going down of the sun until the twenty-first day of Nisan . . . take to your rooms and seal between the days of . . .

Though terribly mutilated these lines seem to be a proclamation of the observance of the passover as it appears in Exodus 12 and Deuteronomy 16. The name of the writer of this document, Hananiah, was common among the Jews. In this case, Hananiah must have been a man of importance among the faithful. This letter

² Sachau, plate 6.

seems to have been sent to the Elephantine community to stir up their frail spirits to prepare for the historical event of the passover as it had been established by the fathers. Even with their temple and their ritual services, they doubtless required such announcements to inspire them to the highest and best spiritual service to their God.

268. Whence the Colony of Jeb? Whence and when came this community of Jews to Jeb the fortress? We must find the answer to this question in the papyri themselves. We discover that the military feature of the colony is prominent throughout, and that Jeb, the center of the community, was a fortress under the care of a garrison of soldiers. The social and business and religious life of the place seemed to be dependent upon the beck and nod of the military authorities, and these military officials were Persians. It is entirely possible that the nucleus of the colony was a regiment or contingent of Jewish soldiers stationed at this strategic point in upper Egypt to guard against possible invasions down the river by the Nubians on the upper reaches of the Nile. From the early years of Egypt's history, the surplus populations of that part of the world (now the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan) were an ever-growing menace of the most prosperous region of Egypt proper, from the first cataract to the Delta. If this supposition is correct, then the time of migration or location at this point of a contingent of soldiers under Persian command would not have been earlier than Cambyse's invasion of Egypt in 525 B. C. Of course, there were many Jews in the Delta when Jeremiah was carried down into Egypt in 585 B. C., but there must have been some compelling

motive to have caused such a colony to migrate to this isolated spot quite away from the most fertile parts of the land, farther down the river. Thus far conjecture is as far as we can go in the solution of this question.

NOTE ON FIG. 111, tail-piece below: The papyrus plant flourished on the lower Nile in Moses' day, and was the plant out of which his mother made the ark (basket) in which to float her infant son (Exod. 2 : 3 mg.). It was used to make swift vessels (Isa. 18 : 2) and small river craft. It grows today only on the upper Blue and White Nile and in swamps near Lake Merom in Palestine. Its chief use was in making paper, which maintained its place until the seventh century A. D., when it gave place to parchment.





CHAPTER XXV

PERSIA AND THE JEWS IN THE EAST

269. Susa in the Old Testament. The city of Susa (Shushan) carries a halo of interest for every Bible student. It was the scene of several romantic incidents in the Old Testament. The city is mentioned in Nehemiah, Esther, and Daniel. To this city Daniel was transported in a vision :

And I saw in the vision ; now it was so, that when I saw, I was in Shushan the palace, which is in the province of Elam ; and I saw in the vision, and I was by the river Ulai (Dan. 8 : 2).

The figures that Daniel saw symbolized the successive dynasties that should fight and rule on the bank of the

NOTE ON FIG. 41, head-piece above: Darius Hystaspes was without a peer among the Persian kings (521-586 B. C.). His wars were successful until he struck at Greece. This fine cylinder seal represents him hunting lions under the protection of his god Ahuramazda (Fig. 3.) The inscription in the three languages of the Behistun Rock (§39) reads, "I am Darius, the great king."

river Eulæus at Susa. Nehemiah was a member of the court of Artaxerxes king of Persia (464-424 B. C.), when he learned of the dilapidated condition of the walls of Jerusalem, the city of his fathers. The opening words of his book read as follows:

"Now it came to pass in the month Chislev, in the twentieth year, as I was in Shushan the palace" (Neh. I : 1). From this place by the king's permission he went to Jerusalem, rebuilt the walls of the city, and again returned to his former position. Later he made a second visit to the Palestinian colony and carried out some sweeping reforms among the most liberal-minded of the Jews.



Fig. 46
Head of an Elamite

On the picturesque mountain range of Elam, southeast of Babylonia, these thrifty people prospered through thousands of years (§269). Their nearest neighbors and at times their bitter enemies were the Babylonians, whose country they repeatedly overran, until Ashurbanipal crushed Susa about 645 B. C.

The scene of the book of Esther is laid within the walls of Susa, and most of it within the limits of Shushan the Palace. Recent excavations on the site of Susa by M. J. de Morgan the French excavator have been touched on in §35.

270. Susa
Crushed by
Assyria.

The date of the founding of Susa is unknown. The cuneiform inscriptions inform us that it had been the headquarters of the Elamite kingdom long ages before the reigns of the later kings of Assyria. Ashurbanipal states that he restored from Susa an image of the goddess

Nana which the king of Elam had carried away from Babylon 1,635 years before his day. This would make Susa a city of importance among the Elamites as early as 2280 B. C. The aggressive campaigns of the Susians into Babylonia are traceable far back in the third millennium B. C. This rivalry with Babylonia and Assyria never died out until the city of Susa was crushed by Ashurbanipal about 645 B. C. Out of Ashurbanipal's long record of the Elamite campaign a few lines descriptive of his plunder of Susa must suffice: ¹

I conquered Susa, a great city, the abode of their gods, the seat of their oracles. By the command of Ashur and Ishtar, I entered his palaces, and sat down with joy. I opened their treasures, wherein was stored up silver, gold, and possessions which the former kings of Elam, and the recent kings had collected and stored away, on which no other enemy besides me had laid his hand, and I brought it out and counted it as spoil. Silver, gold, property, and possessions of Sumer, Akkad, and Karduniash (Babylonia), everything which the earlier kings of Elam had carried away as spoil in seven campaigns and had brought into Elam . . . precious stones, a costly ornament fit for kings, which former kings of Akkad and Shamash-shum-ukin had sent to Elam to effect an alliance; garments, fitting decorations for kings, weapons of war, trophies, everything used in battle fit for his hand; portable furniture of his palaces, upon which he had sat and slept, out of which he had eaten and drunk, poured libations, and anointed himself; chariots, state-carriages . . . horses and large mules with trappings of gold and silver, I took away as booty to Assyria. The temple-tower of Susa, built of alabaster, I destroyed. . . Shushinak, the god of their oracles, who dwells in hidden places whose godly activity no one sees, Shumudi, Lagamaru, Partikira (and others) . . . whom the kings of Elam worshiped . . . these gods and goddesses with their ornaments, their possessions, their furnishings, together with their priests and temple servants, I carried away to Assyria. Thirty-two statues of kings, of silver, gold, bronze, and alabaster . . . I

¹ Rassam Cyl., cols. 5, 128—6, 76.

took with me to Assyria. I turned over the bull colossi, and the guardian gods and all other watchers of the temple entrance, and tore down the fierce wild oxen, that decorated the doors. The temple of Elam I laid in total ruins. Its gods and its goddesses I gave to the winds. Their hidden forests, into which no stranger had ever pressed, neither trodden its bounds, my soldiers forcibly entered, saw their places of concealment, and burned them with fire. The mausoleums of their kings, the earlier and the later ones, who had not feared Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, but had rebelled against the kings, my fathers, I destroyed, laid waste, and exposed them to the sun. Their bones I took with me to Assyria; their shades I gave no repose, and deprived them of their food and drink-offerings.

This is a dread but probably true picture of the frightful vengeance taken upon Susa by her Assyrian conqueror about 645 B. C.

271. **History Behind Book of Esther.** Within one hundred years of this last date Cyrus had become king of Elam, with Susiana as part of his realm. Susa did not come into special prominence until Cambyses son of Cyrus decided to build there a royal palace. Tradition says that he imported architects and artisans from Egypt, to give Persia the beginnings of an architecture. His early death intervened, and the work was left to Darius Hystaspes (521-486 B. C.). One of the inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mnemon (406-359 B. C.) found by Loftus at Susa gives us this notation :

My ancestor Darius built this Apadana in former times. In the reign of Artaxerxes, my grandfather, it was consumed by fire. By the grace of Ahuramazda, Anaitis, and Mithras, I have restored this Apadana.

A sketch of the early Persian kings is quite necessary to appreciate the events of Esther's day. Cyrus died in 529 B. C., probably on some eastern campaign and was

succeeded by his son Cambyses II. This ambitious young man, to make secure his crown, murdered his brother and sister. After eight years of apparent success, he died in 522 B. C. For eight months a usurper, Gomates, held the throne, but was finally slain, and Darius Hystaspes (521-486 B. C.) seized the crown. It was under the early years of his administration that the Jews at Jerusalem completed and dedicated their temple (516 B. C.). During these years Darius suppressed revolts and uprisings in all parts of his realm. He then carried his conquests as far as Scythia in Europe (508 B. C.). He fully equipped two great expeditions for invading Greece, but both failed, the second at the famous battle of Marathon (490 B. C.). A third expedition was planned, but a revolt in Egypt (487 B. C.) and his own death (486 B. C.) intervened. He was buried in an elaborate rock tomb near Persepolis, which was adorned with sculptures and a long inscription. Besides the winter palace at Susa, he built an immense royal structure at Persepolis. To him we are indebted for the Behistun inscription (§39). He was the greatest king who ever sat on Persia's throne, both as regards conquests and power of administration. He was succeeded by Xerxes I, supposed to be a remote kin of Cyrus the conqueror of Babylon.

Xerxes' first great work was the resubjugation of Egypt (486 B. C.). After chastising rebels in Babylonia, he next turned his attention to the still unconquered state of Greece. He called together his nobles and counselors from all parts of the empire, as a kind of council of war. The conclusion of their deliberations was that the most elaborate preparations be made, and Greece be brought

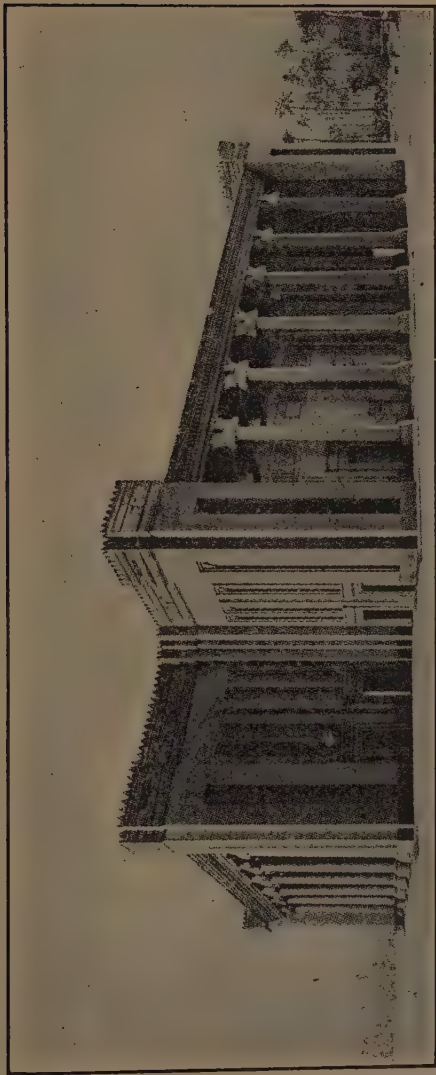


Fig. 144. "Shushan the Palace"

The throne-hall of Artaxerxes Mnemon (406-359 B. C.) at Susa as restored by Dieulafoy (§271-2). It occupied about two and one-half acres. You are looking at its northwest angle. Its pillared throne-room was decorated with 36 fluted columns 67 feet high which supported a flat cedar roof. Its decorative capitals, glazed brick ornamentations, and gorgeous colors made it a residence for royalty. Queen Esther is supposed to have presided here during her queenship.

to his feet. Careful and complete provisions were made throughout four years. The army was thoroughly organized, and the commissary department adequately equipped. In 480 B. C. the army started on its long campaign, aided by a large and well-equipped fleet. It crossed the Hellespont on a bridge of double boats and pushed through Macedonia down to Greece. Through Thermopylæ it poured over the bodies of the brave 300 Spartans until Athens was captured and burnt. The Persian fleet, disabled by storms, was finally destroyed by the Greeks at the battle of Salamis (September 23, 480 B. C.). The land force retreated to Thessaly, where a picked army remained over winter. In the spring' it resumed active offensive operations and recaptured Attica. The Spartans raised a large army, crossed the isthmus, and forced the Persians to retire into Bœotia. On September 25, 479 B. C., the Persian host was completely routed at Plataea, and returned in humiliation to Asia, never again to invade European Greece.

272. Political and Social Background. It is now generally recognized that the events of the book of Esther should be sketched on the historical background outlined in the preceding section. The Hebrew name for the Persian king Ahasuerus is *Achashverosh*, the Persian is *Chshyarsha*, and the Babylonian, *Chishiyarsha* (var. *Akkashiyarshi*). It was through the Babylonian form of the name that the identification of Ahasuerus as Xerxes was finally determined. This one point fixed we are prepared to examine the general features of the document in the light of modern discoveries. The dramatic character of the book of Esther has

assigned it, in many minds, to the realm of fiction, and has attributed it to some author who lived late in the Greek or in the Maccabean era. Little more can be done than to ascertain in how far the manners, customs, and laws reflected in the book are distinctively Persian and in how far the author gives a true picture of the domestic, social, and political conditions of the time of Xerxes.

The opening verses of the book describe a 180-day feast given by the king in the third year (483 B. C.) of his reign. His guests were princes and nobles from all his realm, "from India to Ethiopia," who came in successive relays for a period of six months, to enjoy the favors of the king, to be impressed by the magnificence of his court, and to admire the majesty of his imperial person. The real purpose of these banquets, however, seems to have been to consider and decide on the feasibility of another campaign against Greece. The banqueting passion of the Persians was insatiate. Some of these feasts had as many as 15,000 guests, and cost nearly \$100,000. At the close of this series of banquets, at which it was decided to prepare for another expedition against Greece, a banquet of seven days was given the citizens of Susa. Vashti the queen also entertained the women in a separate feast of similar magnificence. Xerxes' excess at wine confused his brain, and he ordered his chamberlains to bring in and exhibit before his intoxicated guests the beauty of Queen Vashti. Herodotus tells us that Macedonian ladies, introduced to a similar banquet in Darius' day, were basely insulted. Vashti may have known of this former event, and so refused to be exhibited. On consulting his chief counselors, Xerxes

decided to punish such insubordination, and deposed her. This left a vacancy in the royal household. During the next four years he was busily engrossed in preparing for and in conducting that memorable expedition against Greece. The affairs of the royal household were in the care of under-officers, and the necessary preparations were in the making to secure a queen for the place of Vashti, whether or not she were the chief queen.

The remaining chief events of the book of Esther are to be located after Xerxes' disastrous campaign against Greece. What more natural than that the proud monarch, smarting under his humiliating defeat at the hands of the Greek troops, should seek to drown himself in the raptures of his palace? Esther's introduction to him took place (chap. 2 : 16) in December, 479 B. C. She immediately won the favor of the king, and was made queen in place of Vashti. It is not improbable that Amestris during all this time, as stated by Herodotus, was the only legitimate wife, that is, the only one derived from one of the seven royal houses specified in Persian law. That Esther was decorated with a royal crown is no more noteworthy than that Mordecai, a kind of prime minister, should wear such a mark of high honor (chap. 8 : 15). This promotion of Esther was celebrated in true Persian style by "a great feast unto all his princes and his servants; and he made a release to the provinces, and gave gifts according to the bounty of the king" (chap. 2 : 18). The defeat of his great western expedition, doubtless, militated against the power and majesty of the king in the eyes of his subjects, and especially of his subordinates in the court. But a wide distribution of favors

such as is here described would do much to restore their confidence in his beneficent character.

273. Antiquities Background. The first incident in this dramatic story that is especially illuminated by the discoveries at Susa is Haman's method of fixing a date for the destruction of the Jews. Strange to tell, M. Dieulafoy found in the mound at Susa one of the dice that were used in Persia to determine events. It is a quadrangular prism, on the quadrangular faces of which are engraved one, two, five, six. Throw this die and it will stop on an odd or an even number. Objection has been made to the possibility of the reality of Haman's decree, because of the long interval of time which was allowed the Jews before the arrival of the day of their execution. On the other hand, this is rather in favor of the true setting of the story. A careful test shows that one may throw this die even scores of times before it will stop on the desired number. Haman's fixing of the date was left entirely to this hazard. The word for die at Susa in that time was *Pur*; whether or not it was Persian is of no consequence. The text (chap. 3 : 7) says: "They cast *Pur*, that is, the lot,"—an explanation added for the Jews, to tell them that it answered the same purpose in Susa as "the lot" did among the Jews. The long projection into the future of the massacre of the Jews was not Haman's personal wish, but was the fate fixed for them by the *Pur*, "the lot."

There is no event described in the Old Testament whose structural surroundings can be so vividly and accurately restored from actual excavations as "Shushan the Palace." The discoveries of Dieulafoy have contributed

most largely to this result. The Memnonium, or palace of Artaxerxes Mnemon, was the restored palace of Xerxes.

It was composed of three groups of distinct apartments, each surrounded by a special enclosure, but comprised in the same fortress. The Apadana or throne-hall, resembled, by its appointments and its hypostyle architecture, a Greek temple. The king occupied in the tabernacle the place of the divine statue. The hall at Susa covered more than twenty acres. The porticos, the stairways, the enclosures, were developed upon an area more than eighteen times larger, and divided by a pylon. On this side of the pylon, a giant stairway that leads from the parade-ground up to the level of a vast esplanade; on the other side, glittering with its enameled crown, losing itself in the green branches of a hanging garden, was the Apadana. . . . Quite separated from the Apadana, grouping themselves about an interior court, were the special apartments of the sovereign: the audience hall, the rest-chamber, rooms similar to a chancery, and to an armory, for the guards, and for the king's subsidiaries. Like the Apadana, it is reached by stairs of gigantic proportions, which connect the fortified gate of his especial apartments with the armory. The private dwelling of the king, recognized by its arrangement and isolation, and by the formidable turret which protected it, occupied the southeast angle of the acropolis.

274. True to
Persian
Customs.

The antiquities brought from Susa to Paris have been deposited in two large rooms of the Louvre. On the basis of these finds, M. Dieulafoy has not only set up various parts of the palace, such as the bases and capitals of the columns in their natural size, but has made a model, on the basis of the best information, of the great palace of Artaxerxes. The throne-room was made by thirty-six fluted columns, sixty-seven feet in height, supporting a flat cedar-wood roof brought from the Lebanons. These columns were arranged in the form of a square, the two

sides and back of the room consisting of a solid wall, through which four small doorways pierced. Either corner is guarded by a great pylon,

composed of two high walls, crowned with battlements, and standing at right angles to one another. These pylons form wings at each side of the entrance to the central hall, and at each end of the two colonnades at the sides.

They were built of brick, and were decorated on the outside with narrow perpendicular recesses and projections, and with friezes of enameled bricks. These friezes are lions, warriors, or the royal bodyguard, and the like, characteristically Persian. In fact, the whole structure as restored in the model shows us just the environment in which Esther and the other actors in that drama moved about. With this picture before us we can now locate "the king's gate," where Mordecai worried the soul of Haman, "the inner court of the king's house over against the king's house" (chap. 5 : 1), where Esther appeared unbidden before the king; "the outward court of the king's house" (chap. 6 : 4), where Haman appeared to request permission to hang Mordecai; "the palace garden" (chap. 7 : 7), to which the king retired to cool his hot wrath against Haman, in fact, almost all the features of "Shushan the palace," in which those tragic events took place in the story of the book of Esther.

In view of the extensive revelations made in the mounds of Susa, we can assert, at least, that the book of Esther is true to what is known of Persian institutions and customs in the times of Xerxes; that the so-called improbabilities of the book now reduce themselves to a minimum. That Greek and Biblical sources are not in

harmony is not surprising, since both of them are fragmentary, and cannot be expected to give us a complete picture. The seeming arbitrariness or weakness of Xerxes in granting the conditions which produced a civil war in his realm is in perfect accord with an absolute monarch whose merest caprice might become law.

After everything is said, the most probable conclusion is that the book was written in the Persian period, not far from the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon (406-359 B. C.), by a Susian Jew, who was perfectly familiar with the palace, and with Persian history, and with Persian institutions and customs. His purpose was to preserve for his people the origin and significance of Purim.

275. Language Problems of Daniel. Another book of the Old Testament comes in for notice before we complete this chapter, for Jews in the East were involved in its story. In the book of Daniel we have literary and historical and interpretative problems. The author of the book chose to write part (2 : 4 to 7 : 28) of it in Western Aramaic ("Syrian") and the remainder in Hebrew. Aramaic seems to have been the language of trade and commerce in Western Asia almost as far back as the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib in 701 B. C. (2 Kings 18 : 26). When Ezra compiled his records he put the same language (Ezra 4 : 7 to 6 : 14), as did the writer of Daniel, in the mouth and on the documents addressed to, or written by, the peoples of Mesopotamia and Babylonia. In the book of Daniel there are other interesting problems of a language character. The book contains several Persian names of officials and Greek names of musical instruments.

More than this the literary form of the later chapters is that of an apocalypse. It purports to forecast the succession of nationals who should rule Babylonia and the known world in the immediate future, whatever be the individual interpretation given to the separate governments. Every attempt to understand Daniel involves these problems and others to be mentioned hereafter, which no one person can solve beyond question.

**276. Char-
acters in
Daniel.**

The book of Daniel reverberates with action. (1) Daniel is the hero, whose integrity and piety are unchallenged, a Jew of the preliminary captivity (Dan. 1 : 1; 2 Kings 24 : 1), with his three companions. His historical character is amply attested in Ezekiel 14 : 14, 20; 28 : 3, when he had already made a reputation for himself, at least among the Babylonian captives where Ezekiel lived and labored.

(2) The next great character whose position and power in the book are supreme, was Nebuchadnezzar (the correct form is Nebuchadrezzar, and usually so written by Jeremiah). His historical character is established (§§246-249).

(3) Belshazzar who appears in Daniel as "King of Babylon," was a son of Nabonidus (§§249-250) the last Semitic king of Babylon. He may have been prince-regent under his father. Long before the fall of Babylon, we find cases where the prince-regent was made and called "king" during the lifetime of his father. Jehoshaphat of Judah appointed his son Jehoram king of Judah seven years before his (the father's) death (cf. 2 Kings 8 : 16 with 1 : 19). Jotham was made king of Judah

when his father Uzziah was smitten with leprosy, though still living and reckoned as king in the final summing up of the years of his reign. Before starting on his dangerous campaign of conquest toward central Asia, Cyrus is said to have appointed Cambyses as his successor. Belshazzar had occupied this position apparently for some time before the fall of Babylon (Dan. 7 and 8). Again the queen and Daniel address Belshazzar with the expression, "Nebuchadnezzar thy father." We have no positive proof that Belshazzar was a descendant of the great founder of the empire. "Jehu son of Omri" is found on the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III when Jehu was the extirpator of the house of Omri. In all probability, then, this means no more than that Belshazzar was a successor of Nebuchadnezzar on the throne of Babylon. Belshazzar was an established public character in the last days of the Nabonidus reign of Babylon (§251). •

(4) Babylon was the center of guilds of men connected with the court whose livelihood depended on their skill as magicians, soothsayers, astrologers, enchanters, and sorcerers, and a special rank called "Chaldeans." The functions of these classes are not always to be distinguished. Like the oracle of Delphi in Greece, their services were in demand on all important public functions and occasions. Balaam's response to Balak's appeal (Num. 22 and 23) is an illustration of the services required by officials of that class of men, especially in crises.

(5) "Cyrus king of Persia" (Dan. 1 : 21; 10 : 1) comes in for mention in this book, and his historical character is attested by several of his own inscriptions in addition to other evidence.

277. Purpose and Date of Daniel.

The writer of the book of Daniel seems to have employed all his resources to produce the dramatic in his narrative: dreams, interpretations of dreams, fulfilments of dreams, mysterious deliverances from nature's penalties, tragical outcomes of alarming occasions, apocalyptic visions of things recondite and ambiguous in meaning, forecasts of national conflicts and conclusions, reaching all the way to "the time of the end." The faithful endurance of religious persecution is liberally rewarded, and the past is so interpreted as to unfold God's purpose, which will shortly culminate in the establishment on earth of the everlasting kingdom of the Most High, whose vicegerent will be the Jewish people, whom all shall serve and obey. He has woven into the literary fabric at least three persons whose historical character is attested by cuneiform records, entirely aside from the Old Testament. But he has done this with languages so far different from that used in the other books of the sixth to the fourth centuries B. C. such as Ezekiel, and Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, that the two classes are sharply differentiated from each other.

Though Daniel is embodied in the prophetic group of books in our English Bible, the Hebrew canon, on which we depend for our list of canonical books, includes it among "the writings," that is, the miscellaneous writings not belonging to the other divisions of the canon.

The earliest reference to Daniel is found in 1 Maccabees 2 : 59, 60 (written about 100-90 B. C.). Admitting some of the explanations of the so-called historical discrepancies and errors in the book, such as "Darius the

Mede," who has never been found, the book could not have been written at the earliest until after the fall of Babylon in 538 B. C. Why should it have appeared at that juncture? The Jews, so far as we know, had not suffered severe persecutions in the Babylonian exile. To have put out such a work at that time would have been too late to achieve its undisputed purpose.

Therefore, after long study of the problems, of its peculiar linguistic features, of its marvelous dramatic representations, of the apocalyptic character of its make-up, of the evident purpose of the entire book—there is no period in the pre-Christian history of the Jews which would so well solve all the questions that arise as the persecutions that tortured their lives and faith in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes about 168 B. C. and later. To bring out such a work at that critical period would have achieved for the all-but-wiped-out Jews exactly that purpose which seems to pervade the entire narrative of the book of Daniel.

NOTE ON FIG. 5, tail-piece below: Antiochus Epiphanes aimed to wipe out the Jewish religion and in place thereof to instal that of Greece (§277). But he met his match in the inextinguishable valor of the Maccabean Jews, 168-164 B. C.





CHAPTER XXVI

THE ARAMÆANS AND THE SAMARITANS

In earlier chapters (I-V) we discussed the Egyptians, Babylonians-Assyrians, Hittites, and Phœnicians. Now that we have surveyed the Hebrews' relations to those greater and more remote nations, let us take a glance at two of their own home folks, one contemporaneous with them and the other a peculiar younger half-brother of the Hebrews.

278. **Aramæ-
ans in Meso-
potamia.** "Aramæan" is a term descriptive of the peoples of northwestern Mesopotamia, and of northern and central Syria, as far south as the northern limits of Palestine proper, during a considerable period of history. Our sources of

NOTE ON FIGS. 149, 152, 153, head-piece above: From left to right: A North Syrian (of Aya near the Afrin), a Syrian Envoy (12th Dynasty), a Syrian of Merom (Egyptian bas-relief). This group of three heads, especially the first and third figures, represent the Aramæans in close proximity to the Hittites where life was continually menaced by the invaders from the northeast. The central figure introduces us to a Syrian who visited Egypt at 1900 B. C.

information are widely scattered. They are found in the Egyptian records of Thutmose III, in the Tell el-Amarna tablets of the fifteenth century B. C., in the annals of the early Babylonian kings who overran this Westland, and in the royal records of the Assyrian monarchs of the later centuries of the Assyrian empire. We are also so fortunate as to possess a few of the original documents of these peoples, dating especially from the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. To this knowledge may be added some excellent portraits of these races, due to the skill of Egyptian artists, and found in their decorated tomb-chambers.

The Aramæans (or Syrians), occupy a prominent place in the Old Testament. Aram (Gen. 10 : 22, 23) was treated in the Table of Nations (§95). The Aram of chief interest to the patriarchs was that region about Harran on the upper Euphrates. To this territory came Abraham's servant Eliezer to seek a wife for his son Isaac (Gen. 24 : 4, 10, 15; 25 : 20). This country of Nahor appears under the name of Paddan-aram in several passages (Gen. 25 : 20; 31 : 18; 35 : 9, 26; 46 : 15). It was the land to which Isaac sent Jacob when he fled from the wrath of Esau (Gen. 28 : 5-7), that there he might be associated with his mother's kin, and be at a safe distance from the wickedness of the Canaanites. From Aram-naharaim (Aram of the two rivers), the country lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers, came Cushan-rishathaim to oppress Israel for eight years (Judg. 3 : 8-10), just after their settlement in the land of Canaan. It was from Aram that Balak called Balaam the magician to curse for him the camp of the invading

Israelites (Num. 23 : 7). When Hadadezer of Zobah fought with the armies of Israel, he had summoned to his aid the Aramæans "beyond the River" (2 Sam. 10 : 16). This Biblical division of Aram embraced, then, northwestern Mesopotamia, in the midst of which was located that great commercial and religious center, Harran.

Aram of Mesopotamia is well-known in the inscriptions. The kingdom of the Mitanni on the east bank of the Euphrates was taken by Thutmose III while on his famous Asiatic campaigns. According to the Tell el-Amarna letters the royal households of the kingdom of Artatama of Mitanni furnished a wife for Thutmose IV, father of Amenhotep III of Egypt, and his son, Amenhotep IV, now part Asiatic; also may have married a Mesopotamian princess. This action of the Egyptian royalty finally resulted in the overthrow of the Eighteenth dynasty (§110). These same Mitannians also took part in a campaign that attacked Egypt in the time of Ramses III.

The Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I (1120-1100 B. C.), and of Ashurnatsirpal, represent the "Aru-mu," the "Arimu," as peoples who occupied territory either on the east or west bank of the Euphrates river. Among their conquests they name as Arumu, peoples dwelling in southern Armenia and in Babylonia. Their use of the term was probably general, and slight weight should be attached to their classifications. It is at least apparent that the Aramæans in and about Harran were related to or of the same race as those settled between the Euphrates and the Orontes rivers.

279. Aramæ-
ans of North
Syria.

The Aramæans of northern Syria, doubtless the same peoples as those east of the Euphrates, are mentioned in the Old Testament under several names. Though racially one with the occupants of central Syria centered at Damascus, they still differed in character. There were several prosperous Aramæan cities in this northern territory. Saul seems to have fought with the kings of Zobah (1 Sam. 14 : 47), one of whom in David's time was Hadadezer, son of Rehob (2 Sam. 8 : 3-12), who was smitten by Israel as he attempted to recover his borders in the north. Hadadezer summoned all of his allies from beyond (east of) the Euphrates, and from Damascus in the south, to fight the armies of David, but only to meet a disastrous defeat that gave Israel supremacy as far as the Euphrates. The subjugation of Hadadezer gave David the ready submission and thanks of Toi of Hamath (2 Sam. 8 : 10), for Hadadezer had been his enemy. David's victories put into his hands all the great cities in northern Syria, Betah (Tibhath in 1 Chron. 18 : 8), Berothai, Hamath, and Helam (possibly Assyrian Khalman). From these he took as booty immense quantities of valuable metals. At a subsequent time, the people of Beth-rehob, and the Aramæans of Zobah joined the Ammonites to resist the aggressions of David's army (2 Sam. 10 : 6-18), but to no purpose. Another combination met the same fate, and David became undisputed ruler of Syria. Under Solomon this territory finally fell into the hands of Rezon, an earlier vassal of the king of Zobah (1 Kings 11 : 23-25). Rezon soon acquired supremacy over all Syria, with Damascus as his capital.

This same territory of northern Syria is familiar on the monuments. In the quotations from the Tell el-Amarna tablets (§107) it was called Nukhashshi. Its proximity to the Hittites continually tempted them to raid it and seize it. Every great Assyrian campaign, from Shalmaneser III down to Ashurbanipal, that crossed the Euphrates, foraged upon its fertile fields, and stormed and captured its cities. The confederacy met by Shalmaneser III at Karkar was largely made up of Aramæans, most of them from this northern territory. One of the points of interest in this section of Syria was Samal, modern Sinjerli, a city or country twice mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III. Its king, Panammu II, allied himself with the Assyrian king, and was rewarded therefor by a gift of some towns near Gurgum. He afterward died in the Assyrian camp before Damascus (in 733 B. C.). His inscription with its characters cut in relief like those of the Hittites, was erected by himself to the sacred memory of his father in the Aramaic tongue, the language of the Aramæan peoples, closely akin to Hebrew.

The Aramæans of which we hear most in the Old Testament, were those who occupied central Syria, with Damascus as their capital city. From the successful rebellion of Rezon against the supremacy of Solomon (1 Kings 11 : 23-25) down to the overthrow of Damascus by Tiglath-pileser III (in 732 B. C.), Syria was almost a continual menace to the peace of Israel. With her capital, Damascus, located on the commercial highway between the East and the West, she had practically independent financial resources. Our first reference to her after the

280. Ben-
hadad and
Hazeal of
Damascus.

division of the kingdom, is found in the account of king Asa of Judah (1 Kings 15 : 16ff.). Benhadad of Damascus and king Baasha of Israel had formed a league. Baasha's aggressions against Judah led Asa to plunder the temple, and with the treasures to bribe Benhadad to break off his allegiance to Israel's king. The game was successful, and Syria raided the northern portions of Israel's possessions.

In the reign of Ahab, "Benhadad the king of Syria gathered all his host together . . . and he went up and besieged Samaria, and fought against it" (1 Kings 20 : 1ff.). The outcome of this siege was the defeat and flight of the Syrians (vs. 20). In the next year the war was renewed, and the battle was fought at Aphek, where the God of the Hebrews proved himself to be a God of the plains as well as of the mountains. Benhadad was defeated, and a marvelous treaty signed, indicating the political situation in the far north (§194). The invasion of Shalmaneser III made mutual friends of these former enemies during the years of threatened invasion (§195). Ahab, however, lost his life in a battle with Syria at Ramoth-gilead (1 Kings 22 : 34-38). Syria began to pursue her old methods of raiding Israel (2 Kings 5 : 2). And the raiding grew into systematic invasion. Elisha the prophet forewarned the king of Israel, and the Syrians were thwarted more than once in their intended attacks (2 Kings 6 : 8-10). Benhadad, however, made one desperate strike at Samaria. The city was almost starved to capitulation, when the besieging Syrians heard "the noise of a great host : and they said to one another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites,

and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us" (2 Kings 7 : 6). This caused a disorderly flight, in which all their camps and valuables were left behind.

Subsequently, upon a visit of Elisha to Damascus, Benhadad is said to have been smothered with a damp cloth by Hazael, who succeeded him as king (2 Kings 8 : 7-15). This was the advent of troublous times for Israel. Hazael inaugurated offensive warfare of a vigorous and cruel type. At Ramoth-gilead, east of Jordan, the place of Ahab's final stand and fall, Joram, son of Ahab, with Ahaziah, his nephew, met the same army under Benhadad's successor, Hazael. The result seems to have been in favor of Israel (2 Kings 9 : 14), though Joram was severely wounded. After the accession of Jehu we find (2 Kings 10 : 32, 33) :

In those days Jehovah began to cut off from Israel: and Hazael smote them in all the borders of Israel; from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the valley of the Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan.

The invasions of Shalmaneser III in 842 B. C. and 839 B. C., were carried on with great vigor against the king of Damascus. Hazael was shut up within the walls of his city, his country ravaged, his dependent provinces plundered and destroyed, but his royal city was not taken. The withdrawal of Assyria's troops was simply a signal of warning to the peoples near him. Gath fell before his arms, and Jerusalem was saved only by the valuable treasures turned into his hands, by Joash, king of Judah (2 Kings 12 : 17, 18). "And Hazael king of Syria oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz" (2 Kings 13 :

22). These brief quotations mark Hazael as a king of exceptional ability. Under his administration Syria and Damascus were of first importance in the Westland. No power crushed him, though he defied every people within reach. He was practically master of all central and southern Syria, including Palestine.

281. Damascus Taken, 732 B. C. The successor of Hazael was his son, Benhadad III. In 804 B. C. Adad-nirari (812-782 B. C.) had swept the land of Syria, Palestine, and Phœnicia. The most important of all his conquests was the city of Damascus, of which special note is made in the summary of his expeditions. The king of Damascus, according to the Assyrian annals, was Mari, an Aramaic word for "lord." There is no room for him in our list of Syrian kings, unless he is identical with Benhadad III, son of Hazael (2 Kings 13 : 24). The capture of Damascus marked an epoch in the history of Syria. Its formidable power, always a menace to Israel, was broken. Henceforth its resistance was greatly reduced. At some point in this period of Syria's history, Joash of Israel is said (2 Kings 13 : 14-17, 25) to have smitten Syria three times. Soon thereafter Jeroboam II, son of Joash, taking advantage of Syria's weakness, subjected her territory, including the city of Damascus, and annexed it. The whole Syrian domain thus fell into the hands of the kingdom of Israel.

In 742 B. C., Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.) arrived in the Westland. Arpad, in northern Syria, withstood him for three years, but was finally forced to capitulate. He turned his attention to the smaller cities and

peoples to the south, and gives in a list of tributaries "Rezon of Damascus and Menahem of Samaria" (§206). After the reception of tribute and partial establishment of his authority, Tiglath-pileser returned to Assyria to look after other subjects. This gave the ambitious king of Damascus his desired opportunity. He persuaded the new king of Israel, Pekah, to join him in a coalition against the authority of Assyria. These two attempted to force Ahaz of Judah into the combination. But Ahaz appealed for help to the oncoming conqueror. Damascus was besieged, and in 732 B. C., though the Assyrian annals are very fragmentary, was captured, "Rezin" slain, and its chief inhabitants carried captive to Kir, possibly some point in Armenia. The king of Assyria plundered and carried away captive all the northern and eastern territory of Israel. This was the final and fatal stroke to Syria. Thereafter she assumed no prominence as a nation among the nations. She was merely a prosperous tributary of some greater power, and her influence was mainly commercial.

Syria's system of worship is occasionally referred to in the Old Testament. After

**282. Ara-
mæan Gods.**

Naaman, captain of the host of Syria, had been healed of his leprosy by dipping seven times in the Jordan, he requested of Elisha (2 Kings 5 : 18) that when he should offer sacrifice to Jehovah, he might be pardoned for going with his master into the house of Rimmon, and bowing himself in the house of Rimmon. This god was probably identical with the Assyrian Adad, the weather-god. The Syrian Hadad formed part of such proper names as Hadadezer, Hadadrimmon (Zech. 12 : 11),

and Benhadad. On the Panammu inscription from Sinjerli we find this: "And this memorial is the . . . of Hadad and El and Rekub-el, the lord of the house, and Shemesh and the gods of Jadi." Other less prominent deities are mentioned incidentally in Aramæan inscriptions from other sections of western Asia. Enough has been said to show that Israel had just on her northern borders a powerful people, kin by blood, rivals in politics, and diverse in worship. Marks of their lives can be seen in many places on the national life of Israel. And evidence of her vigor and strength, and of the verity of the Old Testament's statements, comes from many widely distributed monuments and peoples.

283. Oriental Methods of Government.

The bond of union in the government of ancient Oriental monarchies was force. This stubborn fact made perpetual demands on the vigilance and the strength of the ruler. If for any reason there was a sign of weakness, or of vacillation on the part of the right arm of control, it was regarded by provincial subjects as a call to arms, a trumpet blast announcing a revolution. There was another occasion also that was always anticipated by the man in power with thoughts of alarm. It was that critical moment when the authority must be transferred from father to son. Instead of the legitimate heir, a usurper was always a dread possibility. The death of the king always carried with it a contingent upheaval. As soon as the pressure was removed, expansive human nature rebounded to conditions of insubordination and independence. This fact largely accounts for the mercurial power of many ancient monarchies. The accession of

each successive-ruler usually meant the resubjugation of many of the peoples of his royal heritage. If he was equal to this initial demand on his military ability, he thereby laid the foundation for a successful reign. But if he exhausted his resources in securing and maintaining the homage of no more than his home subjects, his reign was not such a success as to be displayed in loud-sounding phrases in the royal annals.

Early conquerors and rulers had taken one precaution against the possible secession of their new subjects. They had been accustomed from time immemorial to carry away from subjugated lands large numbers of captives. These were either used as slaves in the prosecution of large building enterprises, or were sold to be transported to the great slave marts of the world. In either case they added to the resources of their governments. The provinces, too, from which they had been wrested would be less able in the future to offer a troublesome resistance to regal demands. This policy was in vogue many centuries, apparently, before it became evident that its results were disastrous to the provincial prosperity of the kingdom. The deportation of the most thrifty of the population, the transfer to Assyria of the best of the cattle, and the robbing of the treasures of the captured state, brought about but one condition of things. And that was a depleted and discouraged people, a severe diminution in the amount of products of the soil, and an abject dependence on higher authorities for their direction and inspiration. This would naturally centralize at the royal capital the authority, the power, and the prosperity of the kingdom, exactly the result desired by the king on the throne.

284. Policy of Deportation and Immigration.

The beginning of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B. C.) opened a new era in Assyrian history. Instead of a purely military control of dependencies, established and executed by his royal predecessors, he organized a system of civil government, in which the governed had some part. And in order to compensate in part for the deportation of the population, and the depletion of land values, Tiglath-pileser introduced a new measure. The impoverished country was not left to grow up wild and to be the haunts of wild beasts. Into this territory he imported peoples from other conquered lands. These were brought from different provinces, so that, with little community of blood or language, they might be less liable to combine in rebellion against their overlord. This policy threw together peoples of the most diverse customs, habits, and religion. They spoke different languages, and were descendants of widely separated nationalities. The results of such aggregations of diverse peoples were often very peculiar.

The land of Israel had been plundered time and again by almost all its neighboring peoples, but the disastrous and devastating raids of Assyria surpassed all in their permanent damage to the country. Tiglath-pileser III had carried off multitudes from east of the Jordan and from northern Israel. Shalmaneser V (727-722 B. C.) had received the kingdom of Tiglath-pileser III, including the territory and people of the ten tribes. Early in his reign, Hoshea king of Israel had plotted rebellion, but was forgiven on payment of tribute. An attempt to form a league with a So (Sibe) of Egypt against Assyria

was discovered; and the Israelitish king captured and put in chains. Shalmaneser spoiled the country, looted the cities, carried off its population, and besieged their capital city, Samaria. At the accession of his successor, Sargon II, the city succumbed. Sargon carried away 27,290 of its inhabitants and distributed them "in Halah, and on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (§215). The country, robbed of its population, and the city itself now fallen and spoiled and deprived of its most valuable citizens, was on the down grade towards speedy destruction.

The Old Testament recognizes the new Assyrian policy of deportation and importation when it says (2 Kings 17 : 24) :

And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof.

Sargon II also preserves one reference to his own policy on this subject (Annals, 95-97) :

The tribes of the Tamudi, Ibadid, Marsimani, Khayapa, the distant Arabians who inhabit the desert, whom no scholar or writer knew, who had paid tribute to no king, I smote in the service of Ashur my lord, the remaining inhabitants I carried away and settled in Samaria.

The Kings and Sargon records together name nine different peoples who were thus transported from as many different places and set down in the country about Samaria to build the waste places, to cultivate the soil, and

to produce tribute for the great king. From the names in the lists we find peoples from the desert, probably tribes of Arabs, peoples from Hamath in extreme northern Syria, if indeed it were not just before this a city of the Hittites, also some from Babylon, Cuthah, and Sippar. It is not improbable that Sargon purposely planted in this colony enough of the Babylonian element to determine the prevailing character of the future population.

285. Conglomerate Religion.

The immediate consequences of such an aggregation of religious faiths are given in 2 Kings. It is said (2 Kings 17 : 25-28) that at the beginning, probably because of the scarcity of population, the peoples were plagued by the number of lions in the land. Complaint was made to the king of Assyria that this was because they knew "not the law of the god of the land." He issued an order and they brought to Samaria one of the priests who had been carried into captivity, that he might teach the people of the land how to serve Jehovah. Then we have a description (2 Kings 17 : 29-33) of the religious result of this experiment :

Howbeit every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt. And the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avvites made Nibhaz and Tartak; and the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim. So they feared Jehovah, and made unto them from among themselves priests of the high places, who sacrificed for them in the houses of the high places. They feared Jehovah and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations from among whom they had been carried away.

This was the syncretistic form of worship which resulted soon after the importations of peoples by Sargon to the soil of northern Palestine. The compiler of 2 Kings does not wish to be misunderstood, and so he concludes his chapter (17 : 41) thus, "So these nations feared Jehovah, and served their graven images; their children likewise, and their children's children, as did their fathers, so do they unto this day."

It is evident from further references in Ezra
286. Samaritans Hinder Building Second Temple. that the country must have been only sparsely occupied by the importations of peoples by Sargon. Subsequent kings also found here an asylum for malcontents from different parts of their kingdoms.

When the exiles that had returned with Zerubbabel (536 B. C.) from Babylon began, according to the authorization of Cyrus (Ezra 4 : 3), to build a temple at Jerusalem, the peoples of Samaria said unto them: "Let us build with you; for we seek your God, as ye do, and (mg.) we do not sacrifice unto him since the days of Esarhaddon king of Assyria (681-668 B. C.), who brought us up hither" (Ezra 4 : 2). This coalescence of such diverse peoples by persistent opposition to the Jews, finally succeeded in frustrating for the time being the work of rebuilding the temple and reorganizing the temple ritual for the returned exiles, whose absence in a strange land had cooled their zeal. After fifteen years' delay, however, under a reauthorization of another king, Darius Hystaspes, work was resumed and the temple was completed and dedicated in 516 B. C. Yet it was done in the face of persistent and malicious opposition of their neighbors.

287. Samaritans Hinder Building Jerusalem. This Palestinian colony of Jews suffered by reason of the continuous taunts and jeers of these Samaritans. Probably early in the reign of Artaxerxes I (464-424 B. C.), the Jews again rose up to build their city. This time they were fiercely opposed by their neighbor-adversaries. Protests on the ground availing them nothing, they dispatched a letter to the king of Persia. The parties to this protest were

the Dinaites and the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, the Apharsites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Shushanchites, the Dehaites, the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Osnappar (Ashurbanipal king of Assyria, 668-626 B. C.) brought over, and set in the city of Samaria, and in the rest of the country beyond the River (Ezra 4 : 9, 10).

The make-up of this conglomerate is unparalleled. Here are nine different peoples—though the last clause of the quotation might lead us to suspect that they occupied territory quite outside of that usually assigned to the Samaritans. It is at least significant that all these peoples, wherever located, were involved in the public protest to the active building operations of the Jews.

It must now be apparent that this so-called colony of the Samaritans was a heterogeneous conglomerate. Sargon II (722-705 B. C.) imported Hamathites, Babylonians from several rebellious cities, and four tribes of Arabs from the desert. Esarhaddon (681-668 B. C.) also added to this composite, while Ashurbanipal (668-626 B. C.) transported to this territory Elamites, Shushanchites, and several other distant peoples. These, mingled with the poor Jews left in the country after Shal-



Map No. 9. Plan of Jerusalem in Nehemiah's Day

maneser's and Sargon's deportations, give us the basis, the racial material, out of which sprang the later Samaritans. The gods of all these peoples, set up and worshiped, not by each exclusively, but by any who would, produced a mingled worship equaled nowhere else in ancient history. Naturally the Jews, if cognizant of all of the claims of Jehovah, would assiduously avoid all contact with the very elements that had undermined and overthrown the kingdom of their fathers.

288. Ezra,
Nehemiah
Against
Mixed
Marriages.

In spite of these marks of open antagonism to every advance step of the Jews, it is certain that long years of living side by side somewhat cooled their hot enmity. In fact, their relations became so mollified and agreeable by the time of Ezra's return (458 B. C.)

that intermarriages were not infrequent. And these were current not simply among the common people, but "the hand of the princes and rulers hath been chief in this trespass" (Ezra 9 : 2). The early opposition of Zerubabel to uniting with these peoples apparently had availed nothing, and the Jews were again freely mingling with the most flagrant idolaters. Ezra's drastic measures (Ezra 10 : 11), pathetic as they were, seemed to be the speediest and most effective means of stamping out the evil. But the Jews were almost surrounded by peoples who were ready at every opportunity to strike them a death-blow. Ezra's enforced separation of heathen wives from their Jewish husbands had doubtless no small part in kindling against the Jews new fires of enmity. The liberal Samaritans and other nationalities now had a new and valid reason for crushing the hated Jew.

Several years (445 B. C.) after the reforms of Ezra, Nehemiah returned from Persia to build the walls of Jerusalem. The first report of this fact that reached the ears of the enemy (Neh. 4 : 1) aroused new opposition. Sanballat the Horonite, a leading Samaritan, derided the Jews in the presence of the Samaritan troops: "What are these feeble Jews doing?" (Neh. 4 : 2). Tobiah the Ammonite, one of his aids, said (Neh. 4 : 3): "Even that which they are building, if a fox go up, he shall break down their stone wall." Repeated attempts were made by these leaders to check the enthusiasm of Nehemiah, but to no purpose. Then a coalition of enemies was formed of Sanballat, Tobiah, Geshem, the Arabians (possibly those settled near Samaria by Sargon II) the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites, to stop the wall-building of Nehemiah. The unswerving will of Nehemiah pushed ahead, despite all the warnings and words of opposition. He was five times invited to a conference at Ono, but turned not aside from his steadfast purpose, to step into a trap of the foe. Bribery was the next means adopted to catch him, or slander him. "Shemaiah the son of Delaiah" (Neh. 6 : 10) was hired by Tobiah and Sanballat to induce Nehemiah, a layman, to hide from a would-be murderer in the sacred temple courts. This ruse also failed. In fact, the Samaritan combination taxed their resources to defeat the purpose of the Jews for fear that Jerusalem rebuilt and rewallled would outclass Samaria as a center in this western colony. But the builders, armed for defense and service, finished the repairing of the walls in fifty-two days, to the dismay of their sworn antagonists.

289. Final Rupture between Jews and Samaritans. The vigorous reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah widened the gulf between the Jews and their neighbors, especially between them and the Samaritans. In 436 B. C. (Neh. 13 : 6) Nehemiah returned to Persia. After some time he came back to Jerusalem, to find that mixed marriages were still in vogue, especially among some of the country population (Neh. 13 : 23 - 25). These he roundly cursed and beat, and put them under oath not to continue the practise for their children's sake. But of most significance was the discovery that one of the grandsons (Manasseh) of the high-priest Eliashib, had become son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite, the most representative Samaritan who had opposed the work of Nehemiah (Neh. 13 : 28). Josephus¹ tells us that Manasseh preferred rather to lose his wife than the high priest's office in Jerusalem. Sanballat promised him, however, that if he would retain his wife and forsake Jerusalem, he would build a temple for him on Mount Gerizim like that at Jerusalem, and would see that Darius bestowed on him a high-priesthood. Encouraged by these promises, he forsook Jerusalem and its temple, bearing toward it only feelings of bitterness and enmity.

This event practically terminated the friendly relations of the Jews and the Samaritans. It was also the turning-point in the religious life of the latter. A temple was built on Mount Gerizim, as a rival of that in Jerusalem. Its new and first high priest, Manasseh, carried from Jerusalem sufficient reverence for the law to make it the basis of worship. His and his relatives' influence seem to have coun-

¹ *Antiq.* xi. 8, 2.

teracted and overcome the semiheathen idolatry of the mingled peoples, and to have contended successfully for the pure worship of Jehovah.

It is quite beyond our purpose to follow down to the present day the history of this peculiar people. We have seen how they originated, what species of worship they adopted, their attitude toward the Jews in the restoration period, and one of the chief causes of the rupture between them and the Jewish colony. Suffice it to say that they adopted as their Bible the Pentateuch. Their strict exclusiveness through all the centuries has preserved them practically intact. And today about one hundred and fifty of these devoted Samaritans are found at Nablus, ancient Shechem, at the foot of their holy mountain, Gerizim.

NOTE ON FIG. 160, tail-piece below: Name of Tiglath-pileser in Assyrian Script.
Tiglath-pileser captured Damascus in 732 B. C.

		-		-		-		-		-	
Det.	Tukul		ti		pal		e		shar		ra



CHAPTER XXVII

HYMNS AND PRAYERS

290. Sumerian Hymn to Enlil. We shall present in this chapter only samples of the many hymns and prayers that are found in the literature of Babylonia and Egypt.

- exalted lord of lands, may thy heart be turned, be turned!
- lord of the word of life, may thy heart be turned, be turned!
- divine Enlil, father of Sumer, may thy heart be turned, be turned!
- shepherd of the dark-headed people, may thy heart be turned, be turned!

NOTE ON FIG. 146, head-piece above: The moon-god Sin sits upon a throne, and Ur-engur (about 2400 B. C.), brings a worshiper to do obeisance or receive a message from him. Sin was the patron deity of Ur of the Chaldees and of Harran on the upper Euphrates, to which Nahor and Abram migrated from Ur.

5. O hero of self-created vision, may thy heart be turned, be turned!
 Strong lord who directest mankind, may thy heart be turned, be turned!
- Hero who causest multitudes to lie down in peace, may thy heart be turned, be turned!
- O lord divine, strong one in heaven and earth, may thy heart be turned, be turned!
- Thou hero, divine Marduk, may thy heart be turned, be turned!
10. O lord divine, Enbilulu, may thy heart be turned, be turned!
 Thou hero, divine Nebo, may thy heart be turned, be turned!
 O lord divine, great judge, may thy heart be turned, be turned!
 That thy heart be turned, that thy heart be turned, is it spoken unto thee.
15. Of him who hath supplication, may the supplication be spoken unto thee!
- He who hath imploration, may he speak the imploration unto thee!
- To Urta in the consecrated place.¹
- Enlil, who when he stretcheth out his arm, the heavens are arrested.
- . . . who when he lifts his head, the heavens are arrested.
- Father Enlil, lord of lands,
 Exalted lord of Nippur.
5. The word of the lord, the heavens endure not.
 The word of Enlil, the earth endures not.
 The stretching forth of the hand of the lord, the heavens endure not.
- When Enlil sets his foot, the earth endures not.

These lines celebrate the majesty of the god Enlil and his influence and power in the heavens and on the earth where he moves about.

291. **Babylonian Hymn to Enlil.** O lord of wisdom . . . ruler in thine own right,
 O Enlil, lord of wisdom . . . ruler in thine own right,
 Father Enlil, lord of lands,
 Father Enlil, lord of truthful words,
5. Father Enlil, shepherd of the black-headed people,

¹ From Langdon, *Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 90-93.

Father Enlil, whose omniscience is thy own,
 Father Enlil, hero, prince among warriors.
 Father Enlil, supreme power of the land,
 A lying-down ox, a strong bull that destroys (!),



Fig. 93. The God Marduk

This god was supreme in Babylon. He is here represented with his dragon, from a native offering made by Marduk-zakir-shum. His gorgeous robe is ornamented with rosettes and disks similar to those on the apparel of Adad. He holds in his left hand the same articles as Shamash holds out to Hammurabi (Fig. 57).

10. Enlil, proprietor of the broad lands,
 Lord of creation, chief of the land.
 Lord who makes shining oil as food for offspring.
 Lord whose decrees maintain peace, protect habitations.
 In his chamber he magnifies counsel (!).
15. From the land of the rising to the land of the setting sun.
 In the land, lord of life art thou, lord of . . . art thou.

Reverse:

O Enlil of the lands, lord of life, thou thyself lord of life!

Exalted one, terrible one of the heavens, thou indeed art guardian.

O Enlil, thou art verily lord of the gods:

Father Enlil, who makes the plants of the field to grow.

5. O Enlil, thy glory doth enlighten the fish in the sea.

The birds of the heaven and the fish of the sea thou dost satisfy.

Father Enlil, in great strength thou goest, prince of life,
shepherd of the stars (!).

O lord, . . .

Father Enlil, faithful prince, mighty prince, strength of life
thou makest! ²

This hymn was devoted to Enlil (Bel) of Nippur. Enlil was supreme in Sumer, as source of life, as god of justice, and universal inspirer of man.

The city to which its prince turns not in compassion,

292. **Enlil** - sighs itself away into silence:

Supreme. to which he turns not, the city to which its prince
turns not in compassion;

to which he cometh not, the city to which no immortal cometh;
(Thou) hast devastated . . . , the inhabitants thou hast laid
low.

5. The great gates and the brick walls thou hast overthrown.

Against the sacred place thou dost put forth thy hand.

The first lamentation for the temple let them take up for thee!

O lord, the first lament for the temple may they sing for thee!

Lord of all lands, exalted lord of lands.

10. Universal ruler of the unsearchable heart, of the sacred word, exalted; exalted, receive the first lamentation.

Thou art he whose commandments are inexorable:

exalted Enlil whose commandments are unalterable.

The spirit of the word is Enlil.

The spirit of the passion of the heart of Anu.

Spirit of the soul which is become evilly disposed, Enlil!

The word which stilleth the heavens above.

² *Cun. Texts*, XV, 10.

5. the word which maketh the earth stand motionless beneath,
the word which produces terror among the Anunnaki,
a prophet it hath not, a magician it hath not.
A rushing deluge is it which hath no opposing,
which stilleth the heavens, which maketh the earth motionless,
10. which removeth the mother and daughter like cane-mats.
The marsh in its full strength it prostrates.
The harvest in its season it floods.
A rushing deluge that distresses the faces of men.
A torrent that destroys the buttress.
15. Which sweeps away the great *misu*-trees.
A spirit which binds all things in its power.
When the world of Enlil rushes forth, eye cannot see it.
.
Lord of the word of life art thou.
Enlil, father of Sumer art thou.
Shepherd of the black-headed people, art thou.
One who hast vision through himself art thou.
5. Strong one that directest mankind art thou.
He that maketh multitudes to lie down in peace, art thou.
Lord, divinely strong one of heaven and earth, art thou.
A hero, O Marduk! art thou.
Lord, divine ruler Bilulu, art thou.
10. A hero, O Nebo, art thou.
O lord, divine Shamash art thou.
O spirit, who understands thee? who comprehends thee?
... who resteth not, thou dost cause men to dwell in safety.³

293. Hymn to Sin, Moon-god. O glorious sacred boat of the heavens, whose ruling is self-created,
Father Nannar, lord of Ur,
Father Nannar, lord of E-kish-shir-gal,
Father Nannar, lord of the new moon.

5. Lord Nannar, first-born son of Enlil.
thou standest, thou standest
before thy father Enlil. Thou art ruler,
Father Nannar; thou art ruler, thou art guide.
O sacred boat, when standing in the midst of heaven,
thou art ruler.

³ Langdon, *Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 96-103.

10. Father Nannar, thou ridest to the glorious temple.
Father Nannar, when like a boat thou ridest upon the floods,
thou ridest, thou ridest, thou ridest,
thou ridest, thou shinest anew, thou ridest,
thou ridest, thou shinest anew, thou ridest.
15. Father Nannar, thou carest for the herd.
When thy father looketh on thee joyfully, he commandeth thy
growing.
Then with the glory of a king thou risest brilliantly.
Enlil hath adorned thy hand with an eternal scepter.
When over Ur in the sacred boat thou ridest,
20. like the lord Nudimmud thou art established;
over Ur in the sacred boat thou ridest.

.
Reverse:

.
. . . [Nannar] fills with water
. . . [Nannar] fills with water
. . . [Nannar] fills with water
The glory of the Euphrates fills with water
The canal with its gates Lukhe, fills with water,
the great marsh and the small marsh Nannar fills with water.⁴

This hymn suggests the movements of the moon, Nannar, as it passes across the heavens, in its supposed control of the rainfall as hinted at in the broken text of the *Reverse*.

294. **Prayer** For Nebo the perfect son, regulator of all things
of Ashur- in heaven and on earth, him that holds the tablet of
banipal. wisdom, carrier of the stylus of fate, that lengthens
days, giver of life to the dead, bringer of light to
afflicted peoples, the great ruler, the royal Ashur-
banipal, the prince, favorite of Ashur, Marduk and Nebo;
the shepherd, care-taker of the shrines of the great gods, estab-
lisher of their offerings;
son of Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of Assyria,
grandson of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria,

⁴ Langdon, *Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 296-299.

that his soul may live, for length of days for health of body, to secure the throne of the kingdom, that his prayers be heard,

that his petition be received, that his foes be placed in his power, the wisdom of Ea, the art of song, the treasures of science, which are designed to pacify the hearts of the great gods, according to the tablets, whose copies are in Assyria and Akkad. Upon tablets I wrote, I examined, I verified, and in the library of Ezida, the temple of Nebo in Nineveh I placed.

Forever, O Nebo, king of all heaven and earth, look joyfully upon this library;

of Ashurbanipal his (!) shepherd, reverencer of thy divinity, daily grant the request!

Command that he live; may he extol thy great divinity.⁵

295. **Prayer** O Bau, mighty mistress, merciful mother, who dwellest in the brilliant heavens,
to Bau. I beseech thee, my mistress, stand and hearken unto me;

I have sought thee, I have turned to thee, like the garment (?) of my god and goddess have I seized thy garment (?).

Since to pronounce judgments, to determine destinies, to raise to life, to grant prosperity belongs to thee; since thou knowest (how) to protect, to benefit and to save.

O Bau, mighty mistress, merciful mother, among the many stars of heaven,

I have turned to thee, I have given heed.

Accept from me the *upuntu*-plant, and receive my supplication.

[May I send thee] to my god who is angry, to my goddess who is angry with me,

[to the god of my city] who is wroth and enraged with me . . .

O Bau, mighty mistress, at the word of thy exalted command, which in Ekur [is unchangeable],

and thy eternal grace which [changes not],

let my angry god return, let my angry goddess. . .

Let the god of my city (return,) who is wroth with me and whose heart is enraged with me,

let him who is angry be at rest, him who is enraged [be pacified]!

⁵ Langdon, *Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 178, 179.

O Bau, mighty mistress, thou dost hold. . .
 To Marduk, king of the gods, my merciful lord. . .
 Broad is thy protection, great is thy compassion. . .
 The gift of favor and life do thou [grant me]!
 May I gladden thy heart; may I bow in humility before thee.⁶

This is an appeal to Bau, a great mother goddess of Babylonia, to be a mediator between the suppliant and the god who is angry with him.

O mighty lord, exalted, firstborn of *Nu-nam-nir*,
 296. Prayer Chief of the Anunnaki, lord of battle,
 to Nergal. Offspring of *Ku-tu-shar*, the great queen,
 Nergal, most powerful of the gods, beloved of
Nin-men-na.

Thou art brilliant in the bright heavens, lofty is thy position;
 Thou art great in the underworld, and the benefactor of its . . .
 With Ea in the assembly of the gods, inscribe thy counsel.
 With Sin in the heavens, thou seekest all things.
 Bel, thy father, hath given thee the black-headed people, all
 living creatures.
 The cattle of Nergal, created things, he hath placed in thy hands.
 I, So-and-so, son of So-and-so . . . thy servant!
 The . . . of god and goddess are laid upon me!
 Raid and destruction are in thy house.
 Because thou art kind I have turned to thy divinity!
 Because thou art forgiving, I have sought for thee!
 Because thou dost look with favor . . .
 Because thou art merciful, I have stood before thee!
 Look with true favor upon me and hearken to my cry.
 May thy angry heart be at rest!
 Absolve my sin . . . my iniquity . . .
 O angry god and angry goddess . . .
 Let me proclaim thy greatness! let me bow humbly before thee!⁷

Nergal was the god of destruction, pestilence, and disaster. The suppliant seeks forgiveness to avert

⁶ R. F. Harper, *Assy.-Babyl. Lit.*, pp. 422-423.

⁷ R. F. Harper, *Assy.-Babyl. Lit.*, pp. 423-424.

the deserved penalty which he fears from this powerful divinity.

297. Hymn to Aton and King. The divine Father, favorite of the Good God, fan-bearer, at the right of the king, master of all the horses of his majesty, truly beloved scribe of the king, Eye. He saith: Praise to thee! O living Aton, rising in heaven. He inundates the hearts, and all lands are in festivity because of his rising; their hearts are happy with the joy of their lord, Irsu who shineth upon them. Thy beloved son presents truth before thy beautiful face; thou rejoicest when thou seest him, (for) he came forth from thee; son of eternity, who came forth from Aton, spirit of his spirit, gratifying the heart of Aton. When he rises in heaven, he rejoices in his son; he embraces him with his rays; he gives to him eternity as king, like the Aton; Neferkheprure-Wanre, this god, who made me, who caused my *Ka* to be. Grant that I may be satisfied with seeing thee without ceasing; this lord who forms like Aton; rich in possessions a full Nile every day, making Egypt live. Silver and gold are like the sand of the shore; the land awakens to mighty rejoicing in his *Ka*, the offspring of the Aton. Thou art eternal, Neferkheprure-Wanre; living and sound art thou, for he begat thee.⁸

Enthusiastic praise in the new faith which was embraced by Amenhotep IV, the so-called heretic king of the Eighteenth dynasty of Egypt.

298. Prayer for Mai of Amarna. O my lord, wise like Aton, satisfied with truth. How prosperous is he who hears thy teaching of life! May he be satisfied with seeing thee, when he reaches old age! Grant me goodly burial, of that which thy *Ka* gives, in the house wherein thou com-mandest me to rest, [in] the mountain of Akhetaton, the place of the favorites. O thou Myriad of full Niles every day Neferkheprure-Wanre, god, that madest me, through whose *Ka* [I] live; grant that I may be satisfied with following thee without ceasing, O child of Aton. Thou art for eternity, O thou Myriad of . . . beseeching Wanre (Ikhnaton). How prosperous is he who follows

⁸ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, vol. II, §992, p. 409.

thee! Grant him; that all he does may abide forever. May his lord give him burial, (for) his mouth was full of truth.⁹

When I see thee my heart rejoices, and I receive thee
299. Prom- in an embrace of gold, I enfold thee with permanence,
ises of Ptah. stability and satisfaction; I endow thee with wealth
 and joy of heart; I immerse thee in rejoicing, joy,
 gladness of heart, and delights—forever.

I make thy heart divine, like me, I choose thee, I weigh thee, I prepare thee, that thy heart may discern, that thy utterance may be profitable. There is nothing whatever which thou dost not know, (for) I have completed thee this day and before, that thou mayest make all men live by thy instruction, O King Ramses II, given life.

I give to thee years of royal jubilee, my rule, my place, my throne. I endow thy limbs with life, satisfaction and protection behind thee, with prosperity and health. I protect Egypt under thy authority, the two lands are diffused with the satisfying life of Ramses II, given life.¹⁰

300. Speci- These are merely a few specimens of the
mens Only. many, many hymns and prayers that abound
 in the literature of ancient Babylonia and
 Egypt. They show that human nature was the same in
 those far-off days, cherished the same feelings toward
 the deities to whom they attributed their successes and
 their failures, and to whom they appealed for relief when
 they fell under the dire distresses which were visited
 upon them.

This line of study could be extended far into the realms of promises, predictions, and prophecy, which are represented here and there in the literary heritages which are ours from those early days. Proverbs, too, like those of the Old Testament are scattered through all the literatures of the East and Near East.

⁹ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, vol. II, §1003.

¹⁰ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, vol. III, §§401-402, 407, pp. 177, 179.

The preceding pages of this volume have presented some of the striking contacts of ancient tradition, history, literature, and life with similar features of the Old Testament. Selections only had to be made to bring our product within reasonable compass. Our hope is that the thirst aroused will satisfy itself only at the fountains of such knowledge, some of which are cited in the Bibliography which immediately follows the main body of the book.

NOTE ON FIG. 33, tail-piece below: These sacred cherubim are from Dendera, Egypt, and may represent in spirit the guardian figures over the mercy-seat in the Holy of Holies in Solomon's Temple. Their appearance with their extended wings conveys the same ideas of sacred guardianship current among all peoples of southwestern Asia and Egypt in pre-Christian times.



SOME REFERENCES FOR FURTHER READING AND STUDY

(ADDITIONAL TO WORKS NAMED IN THE TEXT)

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CHAPTER XIV. ISRAEL SETTLING IN CANAAN

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CHAPTER XV. FOREIGN PEOPLES AND ISRAEL'S MONARCHY

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CHAPTER XVI. LIGHT ON THE BEGINNINGS OF THE
DUAL KINGDOM

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CHAPTER XVII. ASSYRIA'S INCURSIONS INTO ISRAEL

Rogers, *Cun. Parallels to O. T.*, pp. 288-308; ———, *Hist. Babyl. Assyr.*, Vol. II, Chap. V; Ball, *Light from the East*, pp.

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CHAPTER XIX. SARGON II AND COLLAPSE OF ISRAEL

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CHAPTER XX. SENNACHERIB'S WESTERN CAMPAIGN AND HEZEKIAH

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CHAPTER XXI. THE LAST CENTURY OF ASSYRIA AND DECLINE OF JUDAH

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RETURNING EXILES

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NOTE ON FIG. 166A, tail-piece below: The Vulture-goddess Nekhbet, of Upper Egypt, was the protecting patron goddess at Nekheb, the modern El Kab, capital of the southern kingdom of early Egypt. Buto, the serpent goddess, was the protecting patron of the Delta region with its capital at Pe. The god Horus was worshiped at both northern and southern capitals as the patron of both kings.



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- 4241. Calendar adopted in Egypt, 17.
- 3400 *ca.* Egypt united under Menes, 17.
- 3400–2980. First and second dynasties of Egypt, 17.
- 3200–2100 *ca.* Sumerian-Semitic period, 48.
- 2980–2475. • Old Kingdom of Egypt, third to sixth dynasties, 18.
- 2930. Snefru king of Egypt, 103.
- 2800 *ca.* Sargon I king of Babylonia, 102, 124.
- 2700 *ca.* Manishtusu king of Kish, 35.
- 2550. Pepi I of Egypt, 103.
- 2500 *ca.* Assyrian colonies at Ashur and Nineveh, 50.
- 2475–2160. Unsettled period, seventh to tenth dynasties, 35.
- 2450 *ca.* Gudea, patesi of Lagash in Babylonia, 97, 102, 156, 170.
- 2160–1788. Middle Kingdom, eleventh and twelfth dynasties, 19, 74, 75.
- 2123–2081. Hammurabi king of Babylon, 101, 115, 132.
- 2000 *ca.* Earliest use of cuneiform in Westland, 179.
- 1980–1935. Sesostri I king of Egypt, 104.
- 1970. Sinuhe, Egyptian traveler in Syria, 104.
- 1924 *ca.* Hittites invaded Euphrates valley, 50, 102.
- 1900 *ca.* Bedawin from Canaan wander into Egypt, 104.
- 1887–1849. Sesostri III king of Egypt, 105.
- 1788–1580. Hyksos dynasties, thirteen to seventeen, in Egypt, 20, 114.
- 1750 *ca.* Kassites invaded Babylonia, 50.
- 1580–1350. The Empire, eighteenth dynasty, 21, 74.
- 1580–1557. Ahmose I king of Egypt, 105.
- 1501–1447. Thutmose III king of Egypt, 105, 111.
- 1500 *ca.* Thutmose plundered Gezer, 172.
- 1500 *ca.* Phœnicians expert sailors, 59.
- 1430. Assyrians first secured independence, 51.
- 1420–1411. Thutmose IV king of Egypt, 58.

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- 1411-1358. Amenhotep III and IV kings in Egypt, 21.
- 1400 *ca.* Hittites alarmingly strong, 58.
- 1400-1350. Period of Tell el-Amarna letters, 58, 75, 91, 107, 185.
- 1375-1358. Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton) king of Egypt, 84.
- 1350-1205. The Empire, nineteenth dynasty, 21.
- 1313-1292. Seti I king of Egypt, 170.
- 1300 *ca.* Shalmaneser I king of Assyria, first crossed Euphrates, 51.
- 1300 *ca.* Aramæans pushed into Samal and Asia Minor, 58.
- 1292 *ca.* Ramses II succeeded Seti I as king of Egypt, 58, 111.
- 1287. Battle of Kadesh on the Orontes, 58.
- 1225. Accession of Merneptah as king of Egypt, 112.
- 1220 *ca.* Possible date of the Exodus of Israel, 128.
- 1200 *ca.* Elam invaded Babylonia, 50.
- 1200. Phoenicians leading sailors on the Mediterranean Sea, 59.
- 1200-1090. The Empire, twentieth dynasty, 21.
- 1175 *ca.* Kassite dynasty overthrown in Babylonia, 50.
- 1167. Death of king Ramses III, 21.
- 1150. Nebuchadrezzar I king of Babylonia, 50.
- 1120-1100 *ca.* Tiglath-pileser I king of Assyria, 41, 91, 182, 278.
- 1090-945. The Empire, twenty-first dynasty, 21, 182, 185.
- 1045 *ca.* Isin dynasty overthrown in Babylonia, 50.
- 1000 *ca.* Beginnings of the Hebrew kingdom, 74.
- 945-663. Foreign dynasties in Egypt, 22.
- 893-666. Complete eponym lists of Assyria, 46.
- 884-860. Ashurnatsirpal king of Assyria, 52, 170, 172, 193.
- 884-626. Assyria dominant in Southwestern Asia, 52.
- 860-825. Shalmaneser III king of Assyria, 52, 194.
- 854. Battle of Karkar in N. Syria, 52, 118, 195, 196, 234.
- 850 *ca.* Moabite Stone set up at Dibon, 199.
- 842. Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser III, 52, 197.
- 839. Shalmaneser's drive against Hazael, 201.
- 812-782. Adad-nirari III king of Assyria, 202, 281.
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- 763. In the month Sivan, eclipse of the sun at Nineveh,, 46.
- 747. Nabonassar king of Babylon, 46.

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- 745-727. Tiglath-pileser III king of Assyria, 52, 174, 205, 214, 281, 284.
- 739. Conquest of N. Syria, 206.
- 738. Tiglath-pileser against Israel, 207, 210.
- 734. Tiglath-pileser against the Westland, 207, 210.
- 733. Tiglath-pileser routed Syrians, 211.
- 732. Tiglath-pileser crushed Damascus, 52, 280, 281.
- 727. Hezekiah of Judah began to reign, 224.
- 727-722. Shalmaneser V king of Assyria, 52, 214, 284.
- 722. Samaria taken by Sargon II, 52.
- 722-705. Sargon II king of Assyria, 52, 215, 287.
- 720. Westland rebelled against Sargon, 94, 216.
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- 711. Sargon subdued Ashdod, 52, 218.
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- 706. Sargon completed his palace, 219.
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- 705-681. Sennacherib king of Assyria, 52, 172, 174, 220.
- 701. Sennacherib's campaign in the Westland, 52, 74, 172, 221, 229, 275.
- 681. Death of Sennacherib, 228.
- 681-668. Esarhaddon king of Assyria, 52, 172, 174, 228, 230, 286, 287.
- 678. Esarhaddon against the Westland, 228.
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- 673. Esarhaddon invaded Egypt, 229.
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- 668-626. Ashurbanipal king of Assyria, 84, 172, 174, 231, 287.
- 663-609. Psamtik I king of Egypt, 75.
- 662. Thebes laid waste, 231.
- 662-525. Native rulers in Egypt, 23.
- 648. Ashurbanipal king of Babylon, 234, 235.
- 645 *ca.* Ashurbanipal crushed Elam, 270.
- 640-612. Possible invasion by Scythians, 237.
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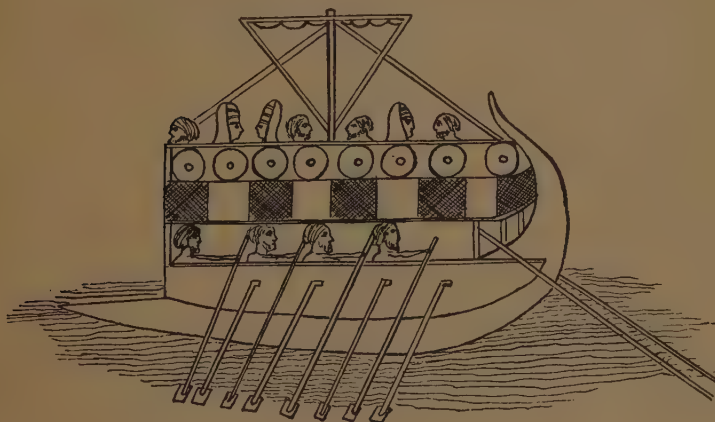
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- 616-609. Years of Nabopolassar Chronicle, 238.
- 614. Fall of Ashur, old Assyrian capital, 239.
- 612. Nineveh destroyed, 53, 239.
- 608. Necho crossed Palestine to help Assyria, 23.
- 605. Battle of Carchemish—Babylon victorious, 239, 243.
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100-90. Book of Daniel first referred to, 277.

NOTE ON FIG. 166B, tail-piece below: War-galley of Phœnicia, in Sennacherib's Day. The Assyrians were not sailors. When Sennacherib's army approached Sidon and Tyre (701 B. C.) the kings of those places fled in their ships to Cyprus. This is one of a fleet of warships, biremes, with two decks, and eight rowers on each side. The wedged prong on the prow of the boat was used to ram the enemies' ships. The decorative effect above is carried out both with shields, and with alternating black and white squares. On the "hurricane deck" are the royal passengers shielded from the sun and weather by awnings attached to the mast, which carries a sail.



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